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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

# THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY King Charles II.

With his Reasons for turning Roman Catholick; published by K. *James*.

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THE

# PORTRAICTURE

OF HIS

SACRED MAJESTY

# King Charles II.

# The CONTENTS.

I. *ON his Majesty's being converted into the Catholick Church.* Page 1.

II. *On his Majesty's accepting of the Scots Proposals, and taking the Solemn League and Covenant in* Scotland. p. 6.

III. *On his Majesty's Coronation in* Scotland; *upon taking the Covenant, and other Oaths, to govern according to the Laws of that Kingdom.* p. 15.

IV. *On the Divisions amongst the Scots Presbyterians, upon his Majesty's bringing his Father's old Friends into Places of Power and Trust about him.* p. 18.

V. *On his Majesty's Defeat at* Dumbar. p. 20.

VI. *On the Defeat of his Majesty's Forces at* Inner-keithing, &c. *and his raising another Army to march into* England. p. 22.

VII. *On his Majesty's Defeat at* Worcester. p. 24.

VIII. *On his Majesty's Escape to* Whiteladies; *from thence to* Spring-Coppice; *and then to* Boscobel-*house, where he was conceal'd some time by the* Penderels, *after he left the Royal Oak.* p. 28.

IX. *On his Majesty's being in the Royal Oak.* p. 31.

X. *On his Majesty's being conceal'd at* Boscobel-*house; Entertainment there by the* Penderels; *and Journey thence to Mr.* Huddleston's. p. 34.

XI. *On the Proclamation against entertaining his Majesty, and offering* 1000 l. *to any that would discover him.* p. 38.

XII. *On his Majesty's leaving Mr.* Huddleston's, *and riding before Mrs.* Jane Lane *to* Bristol, &c. *in*

*order to his embarquing for* France. p. 40.

XIII. *On his Majesty's Journey to* Trent, *and parting with Mrs.* Lane *there, in order to his embarquing at* Charmouth, *a small Village near* Lime, *and his Disappointment by the Skipper's Wife, who lock'd her Husband up, that he should not carry him.* p. 45.

XIV. *On his Majesty's Return to* Trent, *and lodging at an Inn in* Broad-Windsor, *in his way amongst Rebel-Souldiers, where one of their Women were brought to bed; and his Concealment in a Place at* Trent, *where Recusants used to retire.* p. 47.

XV. *On his Majesty's imploying my Lord* Wilmot *to procure Money for his Transportation; his hiring a Ship, being known by one* Smith *an Inn-keeper, and his Arrival near* Havre de Grace *in* France. p. 49.

XVI. *On his Majesty's being conducted to* Paris, *met by his Brother the Duke of* York, *and entertained at the French Court.* p. 51.

XVII. *On his Majesty's offering his Mediation betwixt the Prince of* Conde's *Faction, and that of Cardinal* Mazarin, *supported by the French King, and the Odium which he thereby brought upon himself from both Parties.* p. 53.

XVIII. *On Mrs.* Lane's *Arrival in* France: *His Majesty's being disappointed of* Mademoiselle d' Orleans; *and treating with the Duke of* Lorrain *for the recovering of* Ireland. p. 55.

XIX. *On his Majesty's falling in love with one of his own Subjects in* France; *his marrying her, and having a young Prince by her, who was afterwards created Duke of* Monmouth. p. 59.

XX. *On the French King's concluding a Treaty with* Oliver, *by which his Majesty and the Royal Family were to be excluded* France, *and his going thereupon into the* Low-Countries. p. 62.

XXI.

XXI. *On his Majesty's travelling into* Germany *and the* Low-Countries: *The Duke of* Glocester's *being importun'd and threatned by his Mother to turn Roman Catholick; and the Duke of* York's *being charg'd to depart* France. p. 64.

XXII. *On his Majesty's being invited into the* Spanish Netherlands *by* Don John of Austria, *in name of his Catholick Majesty, upon the Rupture betwixt* Spain *and* France. p. 68.

XXIII. *On the Defeat of the Spanish Army, and the Surrender of* Dunkirk *to the English.* p. 70.

XXIV. *On* Oliver's *Death;* Richard's *being declar'd Protector, outed by* Lambert *and the Army,* &c. p. 72.

XXV. *On his Majesty's being invited to a Treaty on the Frontiers of* Spain, *betwixt the French and Spanish Ministers, about a Peace betwixt those Crowns: Sir* George Booth's *Defeat: The Confusions which the Nations were cast into by* Lambert, *and General* Monk's *carrying on the Designs of restoring his Majesty.* p. 74.

XXVI. *On General* Monk's *having brought the Design of his Majesty's Restoration to Perfection: His Majesty's Declaration from* Breda, *and Entertainment of the Presbyterian Ministers there, who were sent over to him,* p. 76.

XXVII. *On his Majesty's being proclaim'd by the Parliament: His magnificent Entrance into* London, *and injoying the Countess of* Castlemain *the first Night.* p. 80.

XXVIII. *On the Parliament's condemning the Regicides, and appointing an Anniversary Humiliation on the Day of King* Charles I's *Murder.* p. 83.

XXIX. *On his Majesty's dissolving the Parliament which called him in, and summoning another.* p. 85.

XXX. *On the Presbyterian Plots set on foot* Novemb. 1661.

1661. *Sir* J. P.'s *forging treasonable Letters to that effect. His Majesty's appointing a Conference at the* Savoy *betwixt the Conformists and Nonconformists; and influencing the House of Commons to offer Reasons against any Toleration.* p. 89.

XXXI. *On his Majesty's selling of* Dunkirk *to the French King for* 500000 l. p. 92.

XXXII. *On the Parliament's beginning to grow sensible of the Incouragement given to the Catholick Religion by his Majesty's Declaration,* Decemb. 1662. *Their Petition on that head: and his Majesty's publishing a Proclamation against Papists thereupon.* p. 94.

XXXIII. *On the News of some more Plots by the Phanaticks against his Majesty both in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland. *The Execution of the Earl of* Argyle, *Lord* Warriston, *&c. in* Scotland; *and some of those concerned in the Plots in* England *and* Ireland. p. 96.

XXXIV. *On his Majesty's making War upon the Dutch,* Anno 1664. p. 99.

XXXV. *On the Parliament's voting to stand by his Majesty till he had a Redress for the Injuries done to his Subjects by the Dutch. The King's great Care to have his Fleet ready before theirs, putting them off by fair Promises, seizing their* Bourdeaux *Fleet without declaring War, &c.* p. 101.

XXXVI. *On the French King's making Peace with the States. Several Skirmishes, with various Success. The Victory at Sea by the Duke of* York; *and the Plague which broke out in* London *in* 1665. p. 103.

XXXVII. *On the meeting of the Parliament at* Oxford, *because of the Plague at* London. *The King's Speech to them about the Dutch War, and Supplies. The Chancellor's Enlargement on it. The Act for banishing Nonconformists five Miles from*

*from Corporations.* p. 107.
XXXVIII. *On the Dutch's recalling their Ambassador from* England. *The King's Letter by him to the States: and the French King and his Majesty's Declarations of War against each other.* p. 111.
XXXIX. *Upon the Sea-fights with the Dutch,* May *and* July, 1666. *both sides pretending to the Victory: And the French's lying by, though they came as if they design'd to assist the Dutch.* p. 113.
XL. *On the firing of* London. p. 114.
XLI. *On the Parliament's meeting at* Westminster *after the Fire. His Majesty's Demand of more Money. Their Address against Papists. His Majesty's Proclamation on that Head. The Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters. Declaration of War against* Denmark. *The Insurrection in* Scotland *in* 1666. *The burning of his Majesty's Ships at* Chattam *by the Dutch,* &c. p. 119.
XLII. *On the murmuring of the People at the Consumption of the Treasure. His Majesty's granting leave to the Parliament's Commissioners to take the Publick Accounts. His raising an Army of* 30000 *Men, and disbanding them. On the Parliament's being displeased with it. The Sessions of Parliament in* July, October, *and* February, 1667. *His Majesty's Speeches to them: Proclamation against Papists: Displacing of Chancellor* Hide, *and League with the Dutch,* &c. p. 124.
XLIII. *On the Proclamation against Dissenters in* 1669. *Inviting the Dutch and Swedes into a League with us; proposing a nearer Alliance with the Dutch, and forcing the Treaty of* Aix La Chappelle *upon the Spaniards and the French.* p. 128.
XLIV. *On the Interview betwixt his Majesty and his Sister, the Dutchess of* Orleans, *at* Dover; *and her*

her *Advice to him to break the Triple League, and concur with the French King to destroy the Dutch and the Protestant Religion, and render himself absolute in* England. *Her leaving one of her Maids of Honour, created afterwards Dutchess of* Portsmouth, *behind her; and her own Death speedily after her Return into* France. p. 131.

XLV. *On Colonel* Blood's *Attempt to steal the Crown. A Proclamation against Papists to please the Parliament. The second War with the Dutch. The shutting up of the Exchequer. The falling upon the Dutch* Smyrna *Fleet before War was declared; and the Declaration of War thereupon.* p. 141.

XLVI. *On the Dutch's surprizing our Fleet in* Southwold-bay, *the Duke of* York *being Admiral. His Majesty's Declaration to the Dutch. The Progress of the French in the United Provinces. His Majesty's and the French King's Proposals to the Dutch, and their rejecting them, and making the Prince of* Orange *Stadtholder.* p. 148.

XLVII. *On his Majesty's suffering the Parliament to meet* Novemb. 1673. *His Speech to them concerning the Indulgence and the Dispensing Power, and the Necessity of raising more Forces for carrying on the Dutch War. Several unsuccessful Fights with the Hollanders. The Letter from the Dutch to influence the Parliament, who addressed against the Match betwixt the Duke of* York *and Dutchess of* Modena. *The Prorogation which ensued thereupon. A Proclamation against Papists, and the Consummation of the Marriage.* p. 154.

XLVIII. *On his Majesty's Speech to the House of Lords, upon the Address of the Commons against his Declaration of Indulgence. The Answer of the Lords thereunto. The Vote of the Commons for Ease to*

Pro-

*Proteſtant Diſſenters, and that part of their Addreſs which deſired that all in Places of Power and Truſt ſhould take the Sacrament according to the Church of* England. p. 163.

XLIX. *Upon the Complaints of the Commons, that* Ireland *was like to be over-run with Popery, becauſe of his Majeſty's Proclamation, allowing Papiſts to live in Corporations, and giving them equal Liberties to the Engliſh. Their Addreſs concerning the Danger of the Proteſtant Intereſt there; and that Mr.* Richard Talbot *ſhould be remov'd from all Publick Imployment, and denied Acceſs to Court: And their Addreſs concerning Engliſh Grievances; with Reflections on the Miſcarriages of his Majeſty's former Deſigns of being impower'd to raiſe Money without Parliament, on extraordinary Occaſions; and having an Univerſal Exciſe ſettled on the Crown.* p. 166.

L. *On his Majeſty's making Application to the Parliament of* Scotland, *upon his failing of Money from the Parliament of* England; *the Scots inſiſting firſt upon the Redreſs of their Grievances, and ſending Duke* Hamilton *and others to* London *for that end.* p. 172.

LI. *On the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Propoſals for an Union betwixt* England *and* Holland, *and declaring that they muſt break with* England *if the ſame were not accepted. The* Manifeſto *of the Dutch to the Parliament of* England, *wherein they appeal to them for the Righteouſneſs of their Cauſe. The Parliament's Endeavours thereupon for a Peace; and his Majeſty's agreeing to it without including the French King.* p. 178.

LII. *On his Majeſty's proroguing the Parliament, becauſe of their impeaching his Miniſters, forming Bills againſt Popery, and for the marrying of thoſe of*

*of the Royal Family with Proteſtants, and educating their Children in that Religion. Clamours rais'd in the Nation, that we were running back to 41. The Court's mediating a Peace betwixt* France *and* Holland, *and ſending* 10000 *of their own Subjects into the French King's Service.* p. 185.

LIII. *On the meeting of the Parliament again,* April 1675. *Their falling upon Bills for the Benefit of the Nation, and being diverted by the ſudden bringing in of a Teſt into the Houſe of Lords, to be impoſed upon all in Places of Power or Truſt, Civil, Military or Eccleſiaſtical; obliging them to declare their Abhorrence of taking up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſionated by him; and to ſwear that they would not at any time endeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State.* p. 190.

LIV. *On the Debate betwixt the Lords and Commons about the Lords hearing of Appeals from any Court of Equity, with the Behaviour of the Biſhops in that Affair, and the Oppoſition which they met with from the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *&c.* p. 199.

LV. *On the meeting of the Parliament after the Prorogation. His Majeſty's Demand of Money to build Ships. The Commons inſiſting upon the Bill for a* Habeas Corpus: *Againſt ſending Men Priſoners beyond Sea: Raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament: Againſt Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe: For the ſpeedier convicting of Papiſts, and recalling his Majeſty's Subjects from the French Service; and the Duke of* Buckingham's *Speech for Indulgence to Diſſenters.* p. 202.

LVI. *On the Motion for an Addreſs by the Houſe of Lords for diſſolving the Parliament. The Addreſs's being caſt out by the Majority, and the Proteſtation of*

*of the Country Lords thereupon.* p. 205.

LVII. *On the filling of the Benches with* durante beneplacito *Judges. The publishing of some Books in favour of the Papists and Prerogative. The French King's letting loose his Privateers amongst the English Merchants: And the sending of Ammunition from his Majesty's Stores to the French King.* p. 211.

LVIII. *On the meeting of the Parliament after the long Prorogation,* Febr. 1676. *His Majesty's Demand of Money, recommending a good Correspondence to the two Houses. The Question whether the Parliament was not dissolv'd by that unprecedented Prorogation: Sending some Lords to the* Tower *for insisting on it. The granting of Money by the Commons.* p. 218.

LIX. *On the Commons throwing out the Bill, intituled,* An Act for securing the Protestant Religion: *and another* for the more effectual Convicting and Prosecution of Popish Recusants. p. 224.

LX. *On the Address of the Commons concerning the Danger from the Power of* France, *and their Progress in the* Netherlands; *His Majesty's Answer. Its not being thought satisfactory by the Commons, who presented a second, to which his Majesty delay'd giving Answer; and the Cause why. His demanding of Money when he did answer. Their giving* 200000 l. *and Adjournment, with the Cause of it.* p. 227.

LXI. *Upon the Duke of* Crequis's *arriving from* France *with a great Train, and meeting his Majesty at* New-market. *The Affairs treated of there. The meeting of the Parliament again. Their insisting upon a League with* Holland; *and his Majesty's Answer.* p. 231.

LXII. *Upon the Prince of* Orange's *Arrival at* Whitehall, *and Marriage with the Lady* Mary, *eldest* Daugh-

*Daughter to the Duke of* York. *The Addreſs of the Commons thereupon; and their inſiſting upon the Alliance with the Dutch, and War againſt* France. p. 238.

LXIII. *On the raiſing an Army, on pretence of a War with* France: *The modelling of them. The ſending of Duke* Lauderdale *to* Scotland, *to bring down an Highland-Army upon thoſe Parts of the Low-lands which were moſt Presbyterian. The private Treaty with* France. *The Diſcovery of it by the Commons. Their Addreſs to his Majeſty to diſmiſs the French Ambaſſador. Their Vote in* May, 1678. *That the King be deſired to enter into Alliance with the Emperor, King of* Spain, *and Princes of* Germany. *His Majeſty's Anſwer. Their ſecond Addreſs againſt Duke* Lauderdale *and other Miniſters; and Vote to give no Money till they were ſecured from Popery and Arbitrary Government. The Treaty of* Nimeguen, *and the Behaviour of his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries there.* p. 241.

LXIV. *On his Majeſty's acquainting the Parliament that there was a Peace in agitation. His Deſire to keep up his Army and Navy till it were concluded. The Reſolve of the Commons for ſupporting the King in the War againſt* France, *or provide for diſbanding the Army. His Majeſty's Anſwer thereupon; and the Commons continuing their Reſolution to diſband the Army, though the King deſired the contrary.* p. 249.

LXV. *On the relieving of* Mons *by the Prince of* Orange, *with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Monmouth *and the Engliſh Forces. The Defeat given to the French at that time; and their King's Complaint, that it was contrary to his Majeſty's private Articles. The concluding of the Peace: Recalling our Forces: Quartering them in the Country. His Ma-*

*Majesty's being in a Consult with the Duke of* York, *Lord* Clifford, *&c. which was over-heard; and the Person who listened kick'd down Stairs by the said Lord.* p. 252.

LXVI. *On the Discovery of the Popish Plot in* August, 1678. *by Dr.* Oates *and others. The Design of the Jesuits against his Majesty's Life. Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey's *taking Dr.* Oates *his Depositions. The seizing of* Coleman, *Secretary to the Dutchess of* York, *and his Papers; and the murdering of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *thereupon.* p. 258.

LXVII. *On his Majesty's Apology to the Parliament,* October 21, 1678. *for keeping up his Army. His demanding of Money; and acquainting them with the Plot, and Danger from Popery. The Vote of the Commons upon the Plot, and Orders to apprehend the Earl of* Powis, *and four other Popish Lords. Their passing of the Bill for raising the Militia; and his Majesty's refusing it. The Execution of* Coleman, *and some other Plotters of less note.* p. 263.

LXVIII. *On the Bill for excluding Papists from both Houses of Parliament; with a Clause, excepting the Duke of* York. *The Dissolution of the Parliament, as prosecuting the Popish Plot. The calling of another, and ordering the Duke of* York *to withdraw out of the Kingdom before they met. His Majesty's Speech to them, and Declaration, confessing his Error in governing by Cabals. His dissolving of his Privy-Council, and chusing another; whence the popular Members did quickly desire to be discharged.* p. 268.

LXX. *On the French King's seizing several Places in* Flanders, *&c. as depending on those which were confirm'd to him by the Peace of* Nimeguen. *His and the Spaniards Unkindness to the Duke of* York,

*at*

*at that time, in the* Netherlands. *The Addreſs of the Commons to ſtand by his Majeſty and the Proteſtant Religion. Their disbanding of the Army. The Diſcovery of Endeavours to make the Witneſſes of the Popiſh Plot retract their Evidence: And the proroguing of the Parliament upon their growing warm about the Trial of the Popiſh Lords in the* Tower. p. 273.

LXXI. *On the Inſurrection at* Bothwel-bridg *in* Scotland. *The ſending the Duke of* Monmouth *thither to ſuppreſs it, which he effected. The Execution of ſeveral Presbyterian Miniſters upon it: and the Execution of ſeveral Jeſuits for the Popiſh Plot; and Endeavours to ſtifle the ſame by the Meal-tub-Plot, which prov'd abortive.* p. 277.

LXXII. *On the diſſolving of the Parliament,* July 12. 1679. *and calling another againſt* October 7. *The Return of the Duke of* York *in the mean time; and his being ſent to* Scotland. *The proroguing of the Parliament after their being choſen. The acquitting of Sir* George Wakeman, *and others of the Plotters, by the then Lord Chief Juſtice. The burning of the Pope,* &c. in effigie. *The preſenting of a Petition by the Citizens for the ſitting of the Parliament: and Abhorrence of Petitions preſented by others.* p. 281.

LXXIII. *On the Court's being diſappointed of receiving Money from* Rome *and* France. *The meeting of the Parliament* October 22, 1680. *The Proceedings of the Commons againſt ſuch Juſtices as obſtructed Petitions for the ſitting of the Parliament. The paſſing of the Bill of Excluſion againſt the Duke of* York, *in the Houſe of Commons,* nemine contradicente. *The rejecting of it by the Lords. The Trial and Execution of the Lord* Stafford. *The impeaching*

*peaching of the Judges. Their Denial of a Supply to the King. His Majesty's Message to them, and dissolving them, because of their Obstinacy.* p. 285.

LXXIV. *On the calling of another Parliament to meet at* Oxford, Febr. 1680. *The seizing of* Fitz-Harris *with seditious Libels, designed to have been lodged with Protestant Peers and Commons. The seditious manner of the* London-*Members going to* Oxford. *His Majesty's Speech to the Parliament when they met there. Their Impeachment of* Fitz-Harris, *and Dissolution.* p. 289.

LXXV. *On his Majesty's Declaration that the Duke of* Monmouth *was not lawfully begotten.* p. 295.

LXXVI. *On the Protestant Plot. The Trial and Execution of* Stephen Colledge. *The Commitment of the Lord* Howard *of* Escrick, *and the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *with his Trial and Acquitment. The* Quo Warranto *against the Charter of* London, *and other Corporations. The imposing of Sheriffs upon the City of* London. *The Commitment of Sir* Thomas Pilkington *and Mr.* Shute, *then Sheriffs, for opposing it. The calling of a Parliament in* Scotland, *where the Duke of* York *represented his Majesty, as Commissioner. The Test enacted there; and the Act for settling the Succession upon the Duke. The Trial and Condemnation of the Earl of* Argyle, *for explaining the Test; and his Escape.* p. 298.

LXXVII. *On the finding of my Lord* Grey, *Alderman* Cornish, *and other Citizens, guilty of a Riot, for countenancing the Election of the City-Magistrates. The Discovery of the Conspiracy to assassinate his Majesty and the Duke of* York *at* Ry-house; *and the Council of six to manage the Plot: Whereupon my Lord* Russel, Algernon Sidney, *&c. were cut off. The Earl of* Essex's *being murdered in the* Tower.

The

*The Trial and Sentence of Mr.* Speke *and Mr.* Braddon, *for endeavouring a Diſcovery thereof. The Continuance of the Surrender of Charters*, &c. p. 303.

*Copies of two Papers written by the late King* Charles II. *Publiſhed in* 1686. *by King* James's *Authority, who atteſted that he found them in his Brother's Strong Box, written in his own Hand.* p. 309.

*A brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy Death of our late Soveraign Lord King* Charles II. *in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then Aſſiſtant, Mr.* Jo. Hudleſton. p. 316.

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ΕΙΚΩΝ

# ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'
## ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ.

## CHAP. I.

### *On his Majesty's being converted into the Catholick Church.*

THIS I know will be offensive to my Subjects if it should take air, and therefore in Policy am obliged to conceal it; but that I am secure enough as to God and my own Conscience, I have no reason to doubt: 'Tis the Catholick Church whereof I am now a Member, and it's that Church which in the Bibles of the Hereticks themselves is called the *Pillar and Ground of Truth*; then why should I scruple to submit my self to her Direction?

Did not my Grandfather K. *James*, though he maul'd *Bellarmine*, give the Pope the Title of *Most Holy Father, and declare his Readiness to meet the Church of* Rome *half way?* Did not my Father, whom the very Hereticks acknowledg a Martyr, in like manner,

give the Pope those Titles which they call *Names of Blasphemy?* If he had thought the Catholick Religion damnable, or believed that the Church of *Rome* teaches the *Doctrine of Devils*, would he ever have taken a Catholick Princess into his Bosom? or granted such Concessions in favour of her Religion, and suffered it to spread so much in his Dominions? Would he have imployed the Irish in his Armies after they had cut the Protestants Throats? or would he ever have made Arch-Bishop *Laud* his Favourite, who brought such Innovations into the Church of *England*, and declared his good liking to a Cardinal's Cap, if the Church of *Rome* were but a little reformed? So that I am safe enough as to what concerns my Soul, having not only the Sentiments of the Bishop of *Rome* positively for me, but also those of the *alterius orbis Episcopus*, not at all against me. Then surely I may venture my Salvation on the same bottom with my Mother, and embarque in a Church which uncontrovertibly appears not to have been altogether disrelishing to my Father.

Let it go which way it will, I am of the surest side: the Catholicks say, *that out of the Church of* Rome *there is no Salvation*; and Protestants acknowledg, *that in the Church of* Rome *there is Salvation*: and though it should be

be true what I have learn'd from my Tutor *Hobbs*, (and am indeed inclin'd to believe) *that all Religion is but a Trick of State to keep the People in obedience*; yet a Profession of Religion is necessary for a Prince as well as others, according to *Machiavel's* Maxim, *Plebem dum vis fallere, finge Deum*: and certainly that Religion of which it is a Fundamental Principle, that *Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion*, is most agreeable to a Prince who would maintain or advance his Prerogative: for where it is allowed, as amongst all Protestants, to examine the Dictates of their Ghostly Fathers, in relation to the Church, it must unavoidably follow, that the People will also claim the like Privilege to canvass the Orders of their Civil Fathers, in relation to the State. Then let the Hereticks talk as they please of *the Kings of the Earth giving their Power to the Beast*: I see that it is undoubtedly the best Expedient for any Monarch who designs to be absolute, to be an obedient Son to the Church of *Rome*, who can insure him not only his Subjects Persons, but also their Consciences and Purses, seeing they must do and believe as the Church will have them.

True! it is my Misfortune that a Protestant Bishop, and several Protestant Lords, who have follow'd me hither, are privy to

my Converſion, which might indeed prove fatal to my Affairs, if it were not their Intereſt as well as mine to conceal it: but ſeeing their Reſtitution depends on mine, I have no reaſon to fear that they will divulge it. And for the Satisfaction of the Church of *Rome*, though I have no Cauſe to profeſs to be of the Religion of Proteſtants who murdered my Father, and give the Ignominious Character of an Idolatreſs to my Mother; yet ſeeing the Principles of the Catholick Church allow Mental Reſervation, and that Chriſt himſelf did not reject *Nicodemus*, thô a Night-Diſciple, the Roman Catholicks cannot be angry that I ſtill profeſs my ſelf a Proteſtant, eſpecially ſeeing thereby I ſhall be the more capable of doing them Service: and thus I find my ſelf obliged to give an early Aſſent to my Grandfather K. *James*'s Maxim, which he had from *Lewis* XI. of *France*, who never learn'd any other Latin Words, *viz. Neſcit regnare qui neſcit diſſimulare*. Nor do I know why it ſhould be any greater Stain to my Honour, to feign my ſelf a Proteſtant for the Crown of *Great Britain*, than it was to my Grandfather *Henry* the IV. to feign himſelf a Catholick for the Crown of *France*; and may my Endeavours have the ſame Succeſs, but a happier Exit. *And ſeeing the World will have it that there is a God*,

I can loſe no more but a little Breath to make ſome Addreſſes if there be none; but ſeeing it's ſafer to venture with the bulk of Mankind, than to rely on the Efforts of ſome Men of Wit, I am reſolved to lift up the following Prayer.

*O thou Almighty Being! who createdſt the Heavens and the Earth, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree Juſtice, to thee I refer my Cauſe for a final Deciſion. Thou art King of Kings, who putteſt down one and ſetteſt up another, and therefore the fitteſt for me to make Application unto. I have been taught by thoſe who call themſelves thy Ambaſſadors, and would have me to believe it to be thy Law, that Kings are accountable to none but thy ſelf, as being thy Vicegerents, and Gods on Earth. Vindicate therefore the Juſtice of my Cauſe againſt thoſe Men who have not only uſurp'd my Throne, but thine, for I am accountable to none but thee: Give Succeſs to my Arms and Endeavours againſt them: And ſeeing thou haſt ſaid, that Vengeance is thine, and thou wilt repay it, let not the hoary Heads of thoſe who ſhed my Father's and thy Vice-gerent's Blood go down in Peace to the Grave. And give me Strength, O thou moſt High, to execute Vengeance upon a bloody Nation. Thou who didſt grant* Samſon's *Deſire to be reveng'd on the Philiſtines for his two Eyes, liſten*

*to my Petition. I requeſt thee that I may be aveng'd for my Father's Blood, and the unjuſt Uſurpation of my own Throne.*

## CHAP. II.

*On his Majeſty's accepting of the* Scots *Propoſals, and taking the Solemn League and Covenant in* Scotland.

THE Order of Nature is ſtrangely inverted when the Head is become the Tail: I, who ought to give Laws to my Subjects, muſt now receive Laws from them; and it adds to the Miſery of my Fate, that I muſt obey. My Father by his Stiffneſs did loſe both his Crown and his Life; and to preſerve the one, and obtain the other, I muſt comply. My Mother, who had no ſmall Influence on his Refuſal, does now preſs me to accept the Terms: ſo that at once I muſt abjure my Religion and Prerogative, that I may the better advance them both. It's true that this will reflect upon my Honour, but of two Evils I muſt chuſe the leaſt: If I do not comply, my Prerogative is loſt, for I ſhall never be admitted to poſſeſs my Crown; if I don't abjure the Church of *Rome*, I can never promote her Intereſt, nor be rendred capable

pable of doing her Enemies Hurt. My Mother, who is known to be a Princeſs of Senſe, lays an Obligation of Duty upon me, to ſubmit. Her Zeal for the Catholick Religion is known, and as a Daughter of *France* ſhe is better inſtructed in the Pretenſions of the Crown, than to adviſe to any thing that may really leſſen the Prerogative in the Concluſion; and therefore I am reſolved to take the Advice which ſhe gave me in her Letter, *not doubting but that according to her Suggeſtion there, I ſhall after my Reſtitution find an Opportunity to free my ſelf from my Bonds.* Nor can it reflect upon my Parts to be govern'd by my Mother, whoſe Counſels were Oracles to ſo great a Monarch as my Father.

For the Roman Catholick Princes they know my Mind; I ſent the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* to the King of *Spain*, and other Miniſters to the Courts of *Auſtria* and *Poland*, to ſollicite their Aſſiſtance for my Reſtitution, on which the Advancement of the Church of *Rome* does ſo much depend. I have likewiſe the Advice of the Council of *France*, to comply with the Scots, ſo that I am ſafe enough as to any Reflections from thoſe of the Roman Communion, though I profeſs my ſelf to be of another. I have alſo tried what may be expected from the Aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, before I would accept of the Pro-

posals of the Scots; but seeing they cannot defend themselves, I am sure they are unable to restore me, and therefore I must depend upon the latter, though much against my Mind: But Heaven, it seems, thinks fit to humble me so far, that I must rely on the Fidelity and Assistance of those whose Stubbornness and Rebellion laid the Foundations of my Father's Ruine. But why should I despond? is it not possible that the Fates may have put this Opportunity in my hand, to revenge his Blood upon them and the Neighbouring Kingdom, according to the solemn Vow which my Brother *James* and I have made, *to sacrifice thousands to the Memory of our Father, and ten thousands to the Resentments of our dear Mother*? And as the Scots by their Rebellion were first in the Transgression, may they atone for it by being first in the Punishment.

True, they are a cunning People, and if they smell the Design, it ruines my Affairs, but I must manage them with Prudence: The Presbyterians are now on the Top of the Wheel, and testify'd an Aversion to my Father's Blood, which affords me a specious Pretext of caressing them; but if they find me too easy, it will render me cheap, and therefore I must stand aloof for a time. Some of their Commissioners I have already bought off,

off, and those will certainly espouse my Cause; I must allarm them with their Danger from the English Sectaries, and the Designs of that new-rais'd Commonwealth. This will be a Pretence for bringing in the Cavaliers to defend their Country against the Common Enemy, which will divide the Presbyterians amongst themselves; and if I once get but part of them on my side, it will cover my Designs against the whole: *I must pretend to be zealous for their Covenant, and bewail the Sins of my Father's House: I must admit some of their Ring-leaders for my Chaplains, and that will attract the Applause of the Mob. I must indulge the Nobility of my Court in their Practices, and that will defend me against the Rigour of their Church: I must profess a great Passion for the Liberties of the Subject, and that will procure me the Concurrence of their States.* And by these Methods I hope to accomplish my Designs; for when they are engaged against one another, in the first Place, and *Cromwell* and his Republicans in the next, let the Loss fall on which side it will, it is my Gain, I shall be rid of so many dangerous Enemies, and their Fall will be the Rise of my Throne: for if the Presbyterians prevail, they are for Monarchy, though limited; and when their old Friends, but present Enemies, the Independants, are subdued, it will

will be eaſy for me to ſcrue it a Pin higher, and render it abſolute. If the Sectaries carry the Prize, (and who knows but it may be ſo, for Fortune favours mad Men) their Anarchy will quickly make the Nations weary, and pave the Way for my Reſtoration: for the Presbyterians, who are for a National Church, will never be quiet under a Congregational Frame; and being alſo, as I have ſaid, for a King in their Principles, which are two main Heads of Agreement betwixt them and the Church-of-*England*-men, they will quickly prove too ſtrong for the divided Sectaries, who diſagree in their Models both for Church and State.

My Deſign, it's true, may ſeem Inglorious, but there are Precedents which I am not aſham'd to follow: My Grandfather, King *James*, was ſworn to maintain the Church and State of *Scotland* as he found them, but yet made conſiderable Alterations in both. My Father was obliged by his Coronation-Oath, to govern according to the Laws, and yet did advance his Prerogative above them. My Grandfather, *Henry* the IV*th* of *France*, diſſembled both with his Proteſtant and Catholick Subjects, and yet his Reign is famous to Poſterity. But what need any farther Argument; *Did not the Council of* Conſtance *determine that Faith is not to be kept*

*with Hereticks?* Then why ſhould I ſtand upon ſuch a Cobweb-Objection, as the Violation of an Oath to Proteſtants, eſpecially ſeeing I have now ſuch an Opportunity as, if loſt, can never be regain'd? The Engliſh are already fallen off to a Commonwealth, and the Scots, if I do not accept of their Terms, will quickly ſend me ſuch a Meſſage as they ſent my Father, That if he did not think it worth his while to come to *Scotland* and receive their Crown, they might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another Soveraign. The Roman Catholicks, and Church of *England*-men, I am ſure of; and the Presbyterians I may be ſure of, if I comply with their Meaſures; ſo that it is beſt ſtriking the Iron while it is hot, and taking them by the Hand while I may, leſt my Friends be diſpirited by their long-waiting, and my Enemies be ſtrengthned by their uninterrupted Career.

But alas! how am I diſappointed; the Scots are not ſo eaſily to be cheated, they demand my Solemn and Publick Declaration, that I accept of the Crown on the Terms which they propoſe without Equivocation or Mental Reſerve; ſo that I muſt be obliged to renounce my beſt Friends, the Catholicks and Church-of-*England*-men; and not only ſo, but alſo to root out what they think incumbent both upon themſelves and me to main-

maintain. Ah miſerable Strait! but yet I have found a way to eſcape. The Roman Catholick Princes are acquainted with my Heart; and for others, I am not obliged to perform what I ſwear to them. The Opinion of a Council I have for me already, and it will be no great Difficulty to obtain a Diſpenſation from the Pope: And if I ſhould afterwards break to the Presbyterians, I am certain of Abſolution from the Biſhops, ſome of them having already ſignified to me, that an Oath forc'd upon me, is not to be kept, eſpecially when it obliges me to extirpate their Order, which is *Jure Divino* eſtabliſhed in the Church. And if the Presbyterians ſhould know that I were under a Vow to maintain the Church of *Rome*, or the Church of *England*, they would tell me I were abſolv'd by the Unlawfulneſs of the Matter: So that ſeeing every one of them will allow me to break to their Adverſaries, I may allow my ſelf to break with them all. And whereas each Party would ſecure their own Intereſt with me, why ſhould not all their Intereſts truckle to mine. The Kings of the Jews commanded their Prieſts, and why ſhould a Chriſtian Prince be their Subject? Let me once be but firmly eſtabiſh'd on the Throne, and then Kingcraft and Prieſtcraft ſhall have a Trial of Skill; and if they cannot

not agree about the Methods of ſaving their Souls, they may leave it to me how to govern their Bodies. Let the Doctors diſpute their probable Opinions, and I will follow my Senſe and Intereſt. There's no more of Religion that is needful to a Prince, than what ſerves to give Credit to his Affairs. The Catholicks entitle me, *Defender of the Faith*; and the Biſhops do ſwear that I am *Head of their Church*: If the former offend me, they loſe my Protection; and if I be *Head* of the latter, the Tail muſt follow; and then I ſhall puniſh the Round-heads with its Sting.

'Tis true, I am obliged to declare my unfeigned and voluntary Aſſent to the Covenant, but that is alſo the Effect of Force, and who is't that would not do ſo much for a Crown? If ever there were a Caſe wherein it was lawful to prevaricate, it's that of an Injured Prince to recover his Right. If *David* did lie to ſave his Life, why may not I do it to recover my Throne? And if *Peter*, who abjur'd his Saviour, was pardoned, there can be no Cauſe for me to deſpair? But what need is there of all this Debate? if my Works cannot merit, yet my Revenues may purchaſe Heaven, if Soul-Maſſes and Pious Legacies have any effect.

✝ *Do thou, O Bleſſed Virgin, Mother of God, favour my Deſigns, which do all center in the re-obtaining of my own Right, and eſtabliſhing that Church which commands its Members to worſhip thee: Grant Succeſs to thoſe* Piæ Fraudes *which have no other Tendency than the advancing of my own Throne, and the reſtoring ſo great a Tract of Land to the Roman Church; then ſhall I perform the Vows which I have made, and ſing,*

Omni die dic Mariæ
Mea laudes anima,
Ejus feſta ejus geſta
Cole devotiſſima;
Contemplare & mirare
Ejus Celſitudinem;
Dic felicem Genitricem,
Dic Beatam Virginem
Sine fine, dic Reginæ
Mundi, laudum Cantica
Eja bona ſemper ſona,
Semper illa prædica.
Omnes mei ſenſus ei
Perſonate Gloriam
Frequentatæ tam beatæ
Virginis Memoriam.

Ave Maria. ✝

## CHAP. III.

*On his Majeſty's Coronation in* Scotland; *upon taking the Covenant, and other Oaths, to govern according to the Laws of that Kingdom.*

I Have now weathered the Point ſo far as to obtain the Crown in ſpite of the declared War of one Part, and the Jealouſies of another Part of my Subjects; and, like a good Pilot, have kept a ſteady Courſe betwixt the Gulphs of *Scylla* and *Charibdis*; but, Heavens bleſs me! with what a great deal of Danger! Having now compaſſed my End, it remains that I contrive how I may handſomly break thoſe Fetters which the Scots have laid upon me. I have Topicks enow from whence to argue: I am now in Poſſeſſion of my Native Right, which in Juſtice they could not have kept me from. It's but reaſonable therefore I make them ſenſible, by Degrees, that I can lawfully ſhake off their Uſurpation. They have no Right to impoſe Terms upon the Crown, which is mine by Birth. Nor am I more obliged to keep Contract with them than with Robbers that ſhould aſſault me on the High-way, and force me

me to such and such Oaths to save my Life. I do not hold my Crown by the Tenour of their Covenant, but as being descended from *Fergus*'s Loins. And if they reproach me with having used unjust Methods to obtain it, it's no more than what they did to keep me from it; but now when I have it, I am free from all Attainders, and responsible only to God alone. This was the Doctrine of my Father's Chaplains, and this will be justified by the Old Cavaliers, *whom I must now bring into Play as I can:* It's true I have some Pangs of Conscience for having appeal'd so solemnly to God Almighty, that I was sincere in my Intentions, and meant as I spoke, and so much the more, that on being invested with the several Parts of the *Regalia*, I was obliged to renew my Oath in the Sight and Hearing of the People. Nor was it without some Horror that I heard my Chaplain Mr. *Douglas* insist upon the Guilt of my Family, the Duty of a King, and my Obligation by the present Oath; when I consider'd my previous Engagements to the Church of *Rome*, the old Cavaliers, and exil'd Bishops, to take Care of their Interest at my Restoration. But those Qualms I conceive to be the Result of Opinion, which is fix'd in our Minds by the common Representations of the Wickedness of such a Procedure, which I am the rather

rather confirm'd in, becauſe the Frequency of the Act takes off that Apprehenſion of the Guilt which at firſt Commiſſion does ſtare one in the Face.

*Thou who didſt bleſs the Hebrew Midwives for telling a Lie to the Egyptian Inquiſitors that ſought after the Life of the young Hebrew Infants, if thou wilt not bleſs, yet at leaſt pardon me for the Lies which I have ſworn this Day, that I may advance thy Catholick Church. O! all ye Saints, hide me under your Protection from the Plots and Contrivances of my Enemies, who are alſo yours, and do profane the Days which the Church hath conſecrated to your Memory. And bleſſed be thou, O Holy Virgin! who haſt hitherto favoured my Deſigns with ſuch Succeſs.*

Opto nimis ut imprimis
Des mihi memoriam,
Ut decenter & frequenter
Tuam cantem gloriam.
Ave Maria.

## CHAP. IV.

*On the Diviſions amongſt the Scots Presbyterians, upon his Majeſty's bringing his Father's old Friends into Places of Power and Truſt about him.*

AS I conceiv'd, ſo hath it happened; the Scots Presbyterians are all in pieces; thoſe that are rigid did at firſt ſuſpect me, and now they have begun to declare againſt me, and inſinuate already my Breach of Covenant. They are very ſharp-ſighted, but I muſt outwit them. Their Clergy are not all of a piece; thoſe who are ſtricteſt I muſt declare againſt, and fall in with that Party which is moſt complaiſant: If I can but once prevail with them to yield in a little, they'l comply with me more and more by Degrees. The Uſurper *Oliver* being now in their Country, I muſt improve the Opportunity. The Nobility are eaſy to be perſwaded that a Commonwealth will totally ruine their Honour: The Clergy are mortal Haters of Independency; and the People have an old Grudge againſt the Engliſh; ſo that it will be eaſier to unite them, in oppoſition to the Enemy, than to bring them to a

 good

good Opinion of my Government. But as when a Ship is in Hazard, all Hands are imployed to ſave her, I have found it eaſy to perſwade the moderate Presbyterians *to admit my Friends to Places of Power and Truſt, to aſſiſt against the Common Enemy*: And then if there be no Probability for me to conquer, I ſhall be in a better Capacity to deſtroy. And when the Presbyterians are totally ſubdued, I ſhall be the better able to deal with the Independents: And thoſe of the Scots Clergy, who comply with my Deſigns in reference to the State, will alſo at length come to be of my Sentiments, as touching the Church; for I can already perceive that the Favours of the Court, and Hopes of Preferment, do dazle their Eyes. And as for the Puritanical Sect call'd *Remonſtrators*, I will blacken their Fame by the Imputation of Rebellion, and make them odious to the Country, as Complyers with the Engliſh; for which end I will ſuborn ſome of my Friends who ſhall put the Notion in their Heads, to begin a Correſpondence, and then accuſe them.

*O all ye Holy Apoſtles, and thou St. Peter, who are their Prince, pray for a Bleſſing on my Endeavours: Your Succeſſors teach me, that there is no Means unlawful which can be made uſe of for the Benefit of the Roman Catholick*

*and Apostolick Church: And therefore I make my Application to you, that I may be enabled to triumph over the now prevailing Party of my Subjects, who are Despisers of your Holy Order, and pretend to a Parity among Ministers, expresly contrary to the Divine Charter of the Roman See:* Tu es Petrus; ✠ Sancta Maria, exaudi nos. ✠

## CHAP. V.

### *On his Majesty's Defeat at* Dumbar.

I Have lost the Day, but they are my Enemies who fell, which doth not a little allay my Grief. The Presbyterians say they are punish'd for my Breach of Covenant, and I look upon it as the Merits of their old Disloyalty; such an easy Matter is it to turn those Occurrences as the Protestants do their Scriptures, like a Nose of Wax. Nor does this Disaster so much affect my Throne, as it does disgrace their own solemn League. Nor does it so much dishearten my Friends, as it will certainly divide theirs: and while Presbytery and Independency strive for the Mastery, the Crown and the Mitre may play their Game. If the Defeat be ascribed to the ill Conduct of the Presbyterians, as I shall be in-

induſtrious to have it believ'd, it will open a wider Door for the Advancement of my Friends, as fitter for Conduct and Command. And if once an Army be modelled to my Mind, I doubt not of ſucceeding in my Deſigns: And by the Oppoſition which I know I ſhall meet with from the *Roundheads*, I ſhall be further juſtified in my Breach of Contract with them, as a Party who are Enemies to all Government.

✠ *St.* Peter, *favour my Deſigns which are for the Advancement of thy Holy Chair, and bring my three Kingdoms again into the Boſom of the Church, from which, like wandring Sheep, they have gone aſtray; they have left thee, the only Rock on which the Church can be firmly founded: And ſeeing thou and thy Succeſſors were intruſted with a Power to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance to Heretical Soveraigns, you can alſo abſolve a Catholick Soveraign from all Ties laid upon him by Heretical Subjects.* ✠ Kyrie Eleyſon, ✠ Chriſte Eleyſon, ✠ Ave Maria Gratia plena.

## CHAP. VI.

*On the Defeat of his Majesty's Forces at* Inner-keithing, &c. *and his raising another Army to march into* England.

THE Scots have shew'd their Affection to me, but Heaven thinks fit to blast their Endeavours. Nor is it possible for a Kingdom divided against it self to stand. The hot-headed Zealots ascribe it to my own Perjury, with my Father's Tyranny, and my Mother's Idolatry: But I rather think that the Curse due to Rebels hath seiz'd on them, and that the Blood of my Father is required at their Hands, who were the first that durst oppose him. How remarkable is that Justice which brings those very Men against them, whom formerly they themselves did assist against him? and that the Covenant on which they founded their Security should now be made the chief Ground of the Quarrel? and that those very Men to whom they sold their Soveraign, should now sell their People, by hundreds, for Slaves? But those Reflections I must keep to my self; and so long as I have need of them, must flatter the Scots, who are now resolved to invade *England*,

*land*, and to model me an Army more agreeable to my Mind: and then ſhall I ſee if my Church-of-*England*-Friends will own me in Adverſity, as they did my Father in his Proſperity, and ſo long as he was able to advance and protect them: And if they do not, as I ſuſpect that they will not, becauſe moſt of them comply with the Currant of the Time, it will alſo juſtify my Breach to them, if ever the Fates reſtore me to my Throne.

I have now again a conſiderable Army, and pretty well purg'd from Puritanical Humours; but ſtill I muſt pretend a Zeal for the Covenant, to pleaſe the Temper of the Scotiſh Nation, and blunt the Darts which are thrown at me by the Presbyterian Remonſtrators; but when we are in *England*, I know what to do, and how to diſtinguiſh my Friends from my Foes: The Catholicks and Churchmen ſhall have the faireſt Quarter, though I muſt ſtill pretend Friendſhip to the Presbyterians there, if it were for no other end but to make *Oliver* jealous of them, and becauſe ſome of them are very popular Men, and teſtify'd their Diſſatisfaction at my Father's Murder.

*Proſper my Deſigns, O thou Almighty! for the Advancement of the Catholick Church, the Reſtitution of the pious Order of Epiſcopacy,*

*and the Holy Liturgy. Thy true Worſhippers, thoſe of the Roman Communion, having found Healing under the Wings of the former, and no ſmall Security in times of Difficulty, by being able to comply with the latter, my Predeceſſor* Edward VI. *having own'd that it was the Maſs-Book tranſlated into Engliſh: And my Father, of bleſſed Memory, having gain'd it the Approbation of the Spaniſh Clergy when he ordered it to be tranſlated into Spaniſh. Bleſſed Virgin, who ſitteſt as Queen in Heaven, favour my Deſign; command thy Son to aſſiſt me in it: And, O all ye Saints be propitious to my Endeavours! interceed for me at the Throne of Heaven, that I may recover thoſe Thrones from which I am unjuſtly with-held; and I make a Vow when I am reſtored, that I ſhall re-eſtabliſh Biſhops and the Liturgy, in order to the Introduction of the Catholick Religion.*

## CHAP. VII.

*On his Majeſty's Defeat at* Worceſter.

HOW changeable are all humane Affairs, and how little is Grandeur and Strength to be relied on? I, who not long ago was crown'd with extraordinary Pomp, am now in a worſe Condition than the meaneſt Peaſant:

ſtant: The other Day I was at the Head of a gallant Army, and now there's not a Man dare be ſeen to follow me: I was lately guarded by a Foreſt of Spears, and now I am glad to ſculk in a Foreſt of Trees. O! how does this Diſaſter wound my Soul? that I who was lately a King over Men, am now expoſed to wander among Beaſts, and in ſo much a worſe Condition than they, that I cannot ſo well provide for my ſelf? How do my Enemies now triumph? and what a dreadful Slaughter have they made of my Friends? I was proud of having an Army modelled to my mind, and to be at the Head of ſo many Cavaliers. How will the Scots Remonſtrators, to whoſe ill Conduct I aſcrib'd my former Defeats, reproach me now with the Conduct of my own, ſo many of whom are killed in the Field, and others will be butcher'd like Beaſts in the Shambles? Alas! this Defeat is more fatal to me than thoſe at *Dumbar* and *Innerkeithing*: The Presbyterians, whoſe Loſs I did not regard, will now ſay, that Juſtice has found me out, by cutting off thoſe who were the Pillars of my Hope. How often ſhall I be upbraided with it, that I am diſappointed by thoſe whom I preferred to them? Alas! what can I anſwer? That I had ſcarce ſo many hundreds of my Subjects of *England*, as I had thou-

thousands of those from *Scotland*: That they should have march'd so far into this Kingdom, and be joined by such an inconsiderable Handful: That so many thousands of Covenanters should follow me into this Nation, where the Churchmen are strongest, and yet so few of the Churchmen did join me; *so that I came to my own, and they received me not.* In truth, this Presbyterian Reflection has something in it, that the Churchmen do follow their Kings for the Loaves, and always worship the Rising Sun. Poor Souls! how many of the Covenanters have their Garments roll'd in Blood, for espousing my Cause, though their whole Party suspects me? And how few of my English Episcopal Friends have either assisted me with Men or Money? How do the Sectaries revile the Presbyterians, as Friends to me, because Haters of their Anarchy? And yet how little do I hear of the Zeal of the Churchmen, who formerly pretended to adore the Monarchy? How true have I found it, that their Loyalty to the Crown was measur'd by its Ability to protect the Mitre? No wonder that they followed and stood by my Father, who undertook the War in Defence of them; but now that I must not declare for their Hierarchy, I perceive a Declension in their Zeal for the Monarchy; but if ever I happen to reco-

recover my Crown, then I ſhall be ſure to have their Friendſhip. And of the ten thouſand Eccleſiaſticks that are ſaid to be in *England*, the far greater part will ſtill keep their Churches, as well as the Majority do now comply.

*Deliver me, O thou Almighty! from my imminent Dangers. Thou who art King of Kings, defend me from thoſe Blood-thirſty Men who have murdered one King, and hunt after the Life of another. Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned, then why ſhould they call me to an account? Deliver me from their Hands, and vindicate thy own Prerogative from thoſe who have uſurped thine as well as mine. When my pretended Friends forſake me, yet do thou eſpouſe my Cauſe. And as thou haſt covered my Head in the Day of Battel, deliver me from thoſe who thirſt for my Blood.* ✠ Kyrie Eleyſon, Chriſte Eleyſon. Ave Maria Gratia plena.

---

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

*On his Majesty's Escape to* Whiteladies; *from thence to* Spring Coppice; *and then to* Boscobel-*house, where he was conceal'd some time by the* Penderels, *after he left the Royal Oak.*

HEavens be bless'd, that I have hitherto escap'd from the Cruelty of those who seek after my Life, that my first Sanctuary should have been a *quondam* Nunnery, foretold what Party were to be the Instruments of my Preservation: But alas! at *Whiteladies* I parted with the choicest of my Friends, and God knows whether ever we shall meet again: The Noble Earl of *Derby* I hear is taken, and will quickly be sacrific'd to the Fury of the Rebels; but there is no Remedy against such Disasters, he dies for his Loyalty, which is his unquestionable Duty: And though I be not now able to protect him, yet Heaven is able to reward him.

How changeable is the Scene of humane Affairs, since Crowns are also liable to the Cross? The Court which did formerly set forth my Glory, I was lately obliged to abandon with Terror, lest they, who at another time would have guarded my Person, should

ſhould now have been the Cauſe of a fatal Diſcovery.

I who was lately in Royal Apparel, am glad to exchange it with the Garb of a Peaſant: my Countenance, which did lately enlighten the Court, is now eclipſed with a Vail of Soot; and my Hands, the Diſpenſers of Royal Bounty, are inſtead of Jewels, embelliſh'd with the Smoak of the Chimney. In room of a Palace I am glad of a Coppice, and my Lodging is common with the Beaſts of the Field; ſo that like *Nebuchadnezzar*, I am driven from amongſt Men, and for ought I can ſee, ſhall be forc'd to eat Graſs like him, till ſuch time as I am made to know, that the moſt High ruleth over the Kingdoms of the Earth, and giveth them to whomſoever he will. God will be known by the Judgments which he executes, let my Tutor *Hobbs* pretend what he pleaſes. Did not I, the other day, ſay to my ſelf, Is not this the Army which I have rais'd for the Defence of my Crown, and the Glory of my Power? And lo, how they are all conſum'd like Wax, without either gaining Victory or Honour! and this Day the Kingdoms are taken from me, and now I am worſe than the meaneſt of my Subjects.

On

*On his being in* Spring-Coppice.

My Royal Attendance has now fail'd me, and I have Hunger instead of Dainties; yet kind Heaven prevents my starving, and hath sent me a little Country Cheer.

But, good Lord! what a Change? I who us'd to be serv'd in State, have no other Attendants but a Clown and his Sister; and instead of a Royal Concert of Musick, there's the Sound of the Wind on the Trees of the Wood. I who used to sit on Cushions of Velvet, am now exposed to the Moisture of the Ground; and in lieu of being covered with gilded Roofs, have scarce any thing to defend me from the Showers of Rain. Nor can I be secure in this comfortless Condition, but am in perpetual fear of my miserable Life, being now exposed to the Mercy of those poor People, who, if they please, might easily betray me; and yet I must of necessity rely on their Faith.

*On his going from* Spring-Coppice *to* Madley *in* Shropshire, Richard Penderel *being his Guide.*

I who had lately the Conduct of an Army, am forc'd to be conducted by one poor Peasant;

sant; and instead of the Batoon of Command, must now be content with a poor Wood-bill; and expose my self to the Darkness and Dangers of the Night.

Alas! what a fatal Catastrophe? Instead of my Trumpets and Kettle-drums, here's nothing but the rustling of my Guide's Leather Breeches: I have now no Flambeaus nor Torches but the Stars, and must foot it after my Leader, over Ditches and Rivers, whithersoever it shall please the Fates to draw me.

My Subjects, who ought to defend me with their Lives and Fortunes, are now afraid to receive me into their Houses; so that my best Apartments must be the Corner of a Barn; my Royal Bed-chamber some part of a Hay-mow; and my choicest Washes must be the Juice of Walnut-tree-leaves, the better to disfigure my Face and Hands.

## CHAP. IX.

*On his Majesty's being in the Royal Oak.*

IN lieu of a Palace I am glad of an Oak, whose Leaves must serve instead of my Tapestry; and the Sky is now my Canopy of State: The Stars must content me for Imbroidery:

broidery: the Dew of Heaven must be my Perfume; and one single Rustick my Court and Guard.

*On Colonel* Carlis's *coming to him, and their being help'd up into the Oak by the* Penderels.

I see that Heaven hath not left me quite destitute, but hath now sent me some more suitable Company to be a Companion in my Adversity; and being known in the Country, he may do me good Service.

I must now mount the Oak instead of my Throne, and its Branches must serve for my Chair of State: The Land nor the Sea have neither been propitious, and now I must make trial of the Bounty of the Air.

What others do in sport, I am obliged to do *per* Force; and if I cannot have a Hole with the Foxes in the Earth, I must seek a Retreat with the Birds upon the Trees.

But alas! the Air is not Man's proper Element, and my weary Limbs have need of a more commodious Resting-place. This looks like *Absalom*'s Punishment, though I was never guilty of his Crime, to be posited thus betwixt the Heaven and the Earth: but God avert the rest of his Fate, lest my Enemies should thereupon be exalted above measure.

*O Almighty Being! why doſt thou thus puniſh me? What Evil have I done in thy ſight? Is it a Crime to endeavour the Recovery of my Throne, from which I am driven by a Rebellion worſe than the Sin of Witchcraft? Surely thou doſt not puniſh me for my Breach of Covenant with the Scots, for I am taught, that I ought not to keep Faith with Hereticks. Nor can theſe Judgments purſue my Incontinency, which the Prieſts do perſwade me is a Venial Sin, when it's the fault of our Natural Conſtitution? But Events are alike to the Good and the Bad; then why ſhould I thus diſquiet my Soul? My Father, though a very Pattern of Vertue, had a harder Fate than mine has been hitherto.* ✠ *O! all ye Saints intercede for me:* ✠ *Bleſſed Virgin, pray for me, that I may be delivered out of my Straits, and firmly eſtabliſh'd on my Father's Throne; then ſhall I encompaſs thine Altars with Incenſe, and promote the Catholick Religion to the utmoſt of my Power.* Ave Maria.

## CHAP. X.

*On his Majeſty's being conceal'd at* Boſcobel-*houſe*; *Entertainment there by the* Penderels; *and Journey thence to Mr.* Huddleſton's.

I Have now exchang'd my Foreſt for a Houſe, and one that belongs to a Loyal Catholick, as if Heaven would ſtill inculcate that I muſt be obliged to them for my Preſervation; and that I muſt now be puniſh'd for the Perſecution of my Predeceſſors, and hide in thoſe very retiring Places where the Prieſts were forc'd to abſcond from the Severity of the Laws; but if ever I be reſtored to my Throne in Peace, I'll take care to ſecure them from ſuch Annoyances.

*On his Majeſty's being ſhav'd there, by* William Penderel.

I diſſembled a Likeneſs to my Enemies in their Principles, and now am forc'd to do the ſame in my Habit: I am become a Roundhead againſt my Will, that ſo I may the better avoid their Snares.

*On*

*On his dining on a Sheep killed by Colonel* Carlis *in Mr.* Staunton's *Field.*

It is hard that I who am Soveraign of the Nations, and ought to have their Lives and Fortunes at Command, ſhould be put to ſuch Straits for needful Proviſions; and to take thoſe Methods which are ſeemingly baſe; but the common Proverb I find to be true, that Hunger will eat through Stone Walls. My Subjects have unjuſtly robb'd me of my Crown, and it's but juſt that I ſhould take what I can from them: I did formerly ſeize their Ships by Sea, but muſt now be content with a Sheep by Land; and not only ſo, but to be my own Cook, and glad that I can have Victuals for the dreſſing.

*I who uſed to maintain ſo many thouſands, am now put to it to provide for my ſelf: but do thou provide for me, O King of Kings; for I find that not only Subjects, but Kings themſelves have need to put up that Petition,* Give us this Day our daily Bread.

*On his Majeſty's going from* Boſcobel *to Mr.* John Huddleſton's, *on a Mill-Horſe, attended by the* Penderels, *and his Entertainment by the ſaid Mr.* John Huddleſton.

The old Proverb is, He that goes ſoftly goes ſurely, but I am certain it does not reach my preſent Caſe, for Expedition is neceſſary to my Safety, though at preſent I cannot be expedite if I would. Good Lord! what a Change? From a Coach with ſix Horſes, and many thouſands more at my Command, I am now reduced to a ſingle Mill-horſe; a Meal-ſack is the beſt of my Royal Trappings, ſome Country Louts my Guard du Corps, and Wood-bills the chief of my Arms and Artillery. Thus thou caſteſt down one, and ſetteſt up another: He who was but lately a Subject of mean Quality, is now attended with Royal State; and I, who am a King by Birth and Inheritance, am thus reduc'd to the greateſt of Straits. Thus the Omnipotent leadeth away Princes ſpoil'd, and overthroweth the Mighty; and thus he poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakneth their Strength; ſo that this Day may the Vanity of the World be diſcovered, when Servants are ſeen upon Horſes, and Princes walking on the Earth as Servants.

Now

Now I am arrived at a Place of Security, where ſeveral of my Friends have found a ſafe Retreat.

Surely the Saints have interceded for me, and preſerv'd me from all the Dangers of my Way. This ghoſtly Father is very kind, for he knows that I am ſtill the hope of their Party, and Heaven ſeems to declare that I muſt eſpouſe them as my own. They do indeed requite my Father and Mother's Kindneſs, and are as tender of me as they were of them. Thus may Princes learn to extend their Compaſſion towards the meaneſt of their Subjects, when it's in their Power to cruſh them; for a Mouſe may requite a Lion's Kindneſs.

I have now the Satisfaction of ſome ſutable Company, whereas before I was immured amongſt Clowns: Now here's a Clergyman, a Gentleman, and a Peer, a ſmall Repreſentative of all the three States with whom I may ſafely adviſe how to retire; ſo that in the midſt of my Affliction God hath aſſwaged my Grief. Here I find a more convenient Subſiſtance, and can take ſome Repoſe for my wearied Limbs, till my galled Feet, which are not uſed to travel, may grow whole again, and fit for another Journey.

But alas! how variable is the Wheel of Fortune? and how quickly is all my Joy

over-clouded; I thought I had found a ſecure Place to hide in, but the Malice of my Enemies purſues me throughout. Yet bleſſed be God, I have eſcap'd the Snare which they laid for me; he hath broken the Net, and I am eſcaped in as miraculous a manner as *David* did from *Saul* when they were both together in the ſame Cave; ſo that as *Saul* ſought *David* every Day, but God delivered him not into his Hands, he hath been graciouſly pleaſed to protect me from the Fury of the Rebels, who have hitherto ſought me, but in vain; for God is my Hiding-place, and hath ſent his Angels, who ſmote the Sodomites with Blindneſs, to do the ſame to thoſe who ſought after me, but have not hitherto been able to find me, though they came into the very place where I was.

## CHAP. XI.

*On the Proclamation againſt entertaining his Majeſty, and offering* 1000 l. *to any that would diſcover him.*

HOW is the World turn'd up-ſide down, when they who are guilty of the vileſt Treaſon dare proclaim their Soveraign a Traitor, and they who have no Right to their

Eſtates

Eſtates but through his Clemency, deny him any Reſidence in his own Dominions? Where the Word of a King is, there is alſo Power; but now both my Name and Authority are deſpiſed, and by an unparallel'd Audacity they have taken upon them to aboliſh the Regal Dignity; and though they be great Pretenders to Religion, yet they do not conſider the Divine Prohibition, not to touch his Anointed, nor to do his Prophets any harm, but rather wreſt and miſapply the Scriptures, and look upon themſelves to be the People who muſt bind the Princes of the Earth with Fetters, and load their Nobles with Chains: But do thou deliver me, O Lord, from the violent and blood-thirſty Man, who hunts after my Life, that the King may joy in thy Strength, and greatly joy in thy Salvation.

But what do I ſay, or why ſhould I be diſcourag'd? for all theſe things will juſtify my Procedure, when I ſhall be re-advanced to the Throne of my Fathers, for ſhall not my Soul be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?

## CHAP. XII.

*On his Majeſty's leaving Mr.* Huddleſton's, *and riding before Mrs.* Jane Lane *to* Briſtol, &c. *in order to his embarquing for* France.

NOW I muſt leave my Catholick Landlord, but it's in order to go to a Catholick Country, where, inſtead of being conceal'd by a poor Prieſt, I ſhall have the Protection of a mighty King: I have hitherto acted the Part of a Maſter, but now I muſt learn to act that of a Servant; and inſtead of being conducted by Men, muſt ſubmit to the Conduct of a Woman: and though all Paſſes ought to be given by my Authority, yet now I muſt make uſe of another's, and that alſo procur'd from the Rebel-Uſurpers: So that what I ought to decline in point of Honour, I am forc'd to comply with in regard of my Safety.

How mutable are all ſublunary Comforts, when he who hath ſat as a Monarch on his Throne is now obliged to change both Habit and Name, and he who was born Soveraign over ſome Millions of Men, muſt now act the Servant to an ordinary Gentlewoman? he to whom Princes themſelves did uncover, muſt

muſt now attend his Miſtreſs with Hat in hand? But Heaven ſeems to favour my Inclinations, and not to be angry at my hidden Deſigns; for the Catholicks, whoſe Religion I have imbraced, are hitherto the Inſtruments of my Preſervation; and now I muſt be obliged to the fair Sex, to whom I have a more than an ordinary Propenſity.

*On his Majeſty's paſſing through a Troop of Rebels, before Mrs.* Lane, *undiſcovered.*

How hard is my Fate, that I who ought to protect others cannot now protect my ſelf? and that I ſhould be in continual Danger from my Subjects, who are obliged to ſpend their Lives and Fortunes in my Defence? But the Angels who blinded the Eyes of my Enemies that they could not find me when ſeeking for me in the Houſe where I was, can as eaſily ſmite them with Blindneſs now when they do not ſuſpect me, and carry me ſafely through them. O all ye Angels and Saints! as ye tender the Advancement of the Holy Catholick Church, watch over me for Good: Ye who ſmote the Hoſt of the Syrians with Blindneſs, that brought them to *Samaria* inſtead of *Dothan*, do the like to theſe Men who hunt after my Life, that they may not perceive me.

*Bleſſed*

*Bleſſed be ye, O ye Saints and Angels! who have heard my Requeſt, and brought me ſafe through this imminent Danger, and vouchſaf'd unto me ſuch a ſignal Deliverance; may I incur your Diſpleaſure, and forfeit your Protection, if when I am reſtored again to my Throne, I don't remember my Vows, to promote every thing that may tend to the Advancement of the Church of* Rome, *which allows ſo much Honour to Saints and Angels, of whoſe Protection and Guardianſhip I have had ſuch a viſible Demonſtration,* ✠ Hallelujah.

Ave Virgo ſingularis,
Mater noſtri Salutaris,
Cœli decor, ſtella Maris,
Arca mundi myſtica:
Nos in hujus vitæ Mari
Ne permittas naufragari,
Sed favoris vela Cari
Clemens in nos explica.
Amen.

*On his Majeſty's being chid by the Cook-maid at* Long-marſton, *for not winding up the Jack aright; and calling himſelf a poor Farmer's Son.*

How vain a thing is worldly Grandeur? and how little to be relied on? It was a wiſe Say-

Saying of him who gave his Adverſary this Caution, Let not him that putteth on his Armour boaſt as he that putteth it off. When a few Weeks ago I was at the Head of a gallant Army, I did not at all doubt of the Victory; and now inſtead of ſo many thouſands to wait upon me, and put my Commands in execution, I am forc'd to obey an ordinary Kitchin-wench, ſubmit to her Reproof, and deny my Quality, as St. *Peter* did his Maſter, for fear of what may be the Conſequent of her Anger; as *David* counterfeited Madneſs to eſcape the Fury of a Philiſtine Prince, I muſt be forced to tell a Lie to excuſe my ſelf, for not knowing how to wind up a Jack: How miſerable is this Change? that I whoſe Word and Will ought to paſs for an uncontrolable Law to my Subjects, am afraid of a mean and ordinary Servant! Lord, how great a Change is this? that I who am the Head and Fountain of Power, ſhould now be obnoxious to the meaneſt of my Subjects, who might eaſily procure my Ruine if they knew me.

*On his Majeſty's counterfeiting an Ague at* Leigh *near* Briſtol, *and his being known by* John Pope, *Mr.* Norton's *Butler, there.*

Well may he diſſemble an Ague on his Body, who hath not only a trembling, but an aking Heart. To preſerve my Health I muſt feign my ſelf ſick; and to retain my Soveraignty I muſt call my ſelf a Servant, and yet I am not ſafe in ſo mean a Diſguiſe. Now I hold my Life from the Courteſy of a Butler, as I have ſeveral times lately from that of a Peaſant, but with how much Anxiety of Soul God knows: for what Reaſon have I to truſt any of my Subjects, when the far greater Part are avowedly falſe; and inſtead of diſowning, do glory in their Treaſon?

But as *Pope* bears the Name of my greateſt Friend, I have alſo found him to be none of my Enemy: But how dangerous is my Condition, when the meaneſt of Habits and Converſation is not a ſufficient Diſguiſe? But bleſſed be God and the Saints, my Protectors, that hitherto I have eſcap'd. ✠ *Ave Maria, Gratia plena.*

*Lampas Soli, ſplendor Poli,*
*Quæ fulgore præis Soli,*
*Nos commenda tuæ Proli,*

*Mæ-*

*Mœſtos fac lætificet.*
*O Maria, pro tuorum*
*Dignitate meritorum,*
*Supra Choros Angelorum*
*Sublimaris unice;*
*Sede fulgens jam ſuperna,*
*Sorte gaudes ſempiterna,*
*Pietate ſed materna,*
*Nos in imo reſpice.*
*Nobis ſis per mundi fluctus,*
*Via, lux, dux & conductus*
*Salvus ad Cœleſtia.*
*Tene Clavum rege Navem,*
*Tempeſtatem ſeda gravem,*
*Nos in Portum induc ſuavem*
*Tua pro Clementia.* Amen.

## CHAP. XIII.

*On his Majeſty's Journey to* Trent, *and parting with Mrs.* Lane *there, in order to his embarquing at* Charmouth, *a ſmall Village near* Lime, *and his Diſappointment by the Skipper's Wife, who lock'd her Husband up, that he ſhould not carry him.*

HOW changeable are the Capricio's of that Teaſty Goddeſs called *Fortune?* I who entred the Kingdom not long ago with

a formidable Army, am now in a ſtrait how to get out of it with one or two in my Company: But though the Goddeſs of Wiſdom be none of my Friend, yet the Goddeſs of Love continues propitious. It's true, I am obliged to part with one Female Protectreſs, to whom I hitherto owe my Life, but kind Heaven hath ſent me another; ſo that I find the fair Sex to be more inclinable to my Government than the Males.

How great is the Difference betwixt Proſperity and Adverſity? My Predeceſſors could have Fleets to attend them at Command, and I cannot have a ſingle Bark to tranſport me for hire. My Commands which ought to be obeyed by thouſands of Men, are now controlled by a ſingle Woman; nor dare I ſo much as diſpute her Authority. Here's a ſmall Emblem of my own Condition, for ſhe who ought to obey does now command, and has her Husband not only upon but under the Lock. The whole Nation is infected with the Rebellion, for a Man is not now the Maſter of his Family, but muſt be forc'd to ſubmit to the Command of his Wife, ſo dangerous is the Example of a People's uſurping it over their Soveraign; and thus is the Nation plagu'd for its Rebellion.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIV.

*On his Majeſty's Return to* Trent, *and lodging at an Inn in* Broad-Windſor, *in his way amongſt Rebel-Souldiers, where one of their Women were brought to bed; and his Concealment in a Place at* Trent, *where Recuſants uſed to retire.*

THAT I might the better avoid the Fury of my Subjects, I deſign'd to have committed my ſelf to the Mercy of the Waves, as thinking it ſafer to be in a Storm at Sea, than in the middle of a raging Rebellion by Land; but the Fates think it fit to ſuſpend my Deſigns. I am environ'd by thoſe who ſeek after my Life, and forc'd to lodg with them under the ſame Roof, but Heaven hath pav'd the Way for my Eſcape, and by their Impurity provided for my Safety; ſo that inſtead of their having time to enquire after me, the Pariſh is come to enquire after them, that they may not be at the Charge of their ſpurious Brats. When ſuch things happen'd in my Army, they accus'd my Diſcipline, but cannot perceive the Faults of their own.

But,

But, Thanks to the Saints, I am again escaped, and free at preſent from the fear of my Foes, and have another *Aſylum* and Place of Refuge, where the Holy Fathers did uſe to retire from the Fury of Proteſtant Perſecution; ſo that my firſt and laſt Retreat muſt be to the Catholicks.

*Bleſſed be thou, O Being of Beings, that when the Tribulations of my Heart were inlarged, didſt hear my Prayer, and deliver me from my Diſtreſſes; continue thy Mercies, that I may have Opportunity to advance thy Cauſe, and ſeek the Welfare of the Catholick Church! O ye Angels, who protected me in the midſt of my Enemies, watch over me in the remaining part of my Life. Bleſſed Virgin, Mother of God, intercede with thy Son for me, and deliver me from thoſe who ſeek after my Soul.* Ave Maria.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. XV.

*On his Majeſty's imploying my Lord* Wilmot *to procure Money for his Tranſportation; his hiring a Ship, being known by one* Smith *an Inn-keeper, and his Arrival near* Havre de Grace *in* France.

HOW great is the Change from a King who ought to command, to become a Supplicant that muſt beg. My Father demanded Loan-money by Authority, and I am glad to deſire it with the greateſt Humility; He, that he might govern them with an Army; and I, that I may be enabled to fly the Country. My Predeceſſors had Navies to invade *France* at pleaſure, and I have not ſo much as a Fiſher-boat to carry me thither from Danger, but muſt both pay, and be obliged to thoſe that will be hired.

They that are eminent in Dignity, ought to be ſo in Merit, elſe they can hardly eſcape being undiſcovered in their Adverſity. It's almoſt as hard for a Prince to be concealed in a Diſguiſe, as for the Sun to be hid with a tranſparent Cloud: I was not long ago at the Mercy of a Butler, and muſt now be obliged to the Fidelity of an Inn-keeper; and how

dangerous is it to truſt to thoſe who muſt live by Gain, when then they might have 1000 *l.* to diſcover my Perſon.

The tumbling of the Waves reſembles the Inſtability of the Mob, who cry *Hoſanna* to day, and *crucify* to morrow. When the Sky is ſerene, the Surface is ſmooth; but when Storms ariſe, they threaten both Heaven and Hell. What Mountains of Water ſeem ready to invade the Skies? and how do the bottomleſs Gulphs ſeem ready to diſgorge upon Hell? yet had I rather be here than amongſt my rebellious Subjects, who are ſwoln by the Winds of Error and Sedition. But Thanks to my Guardian Angel I am within ſight of Land, and almoſt out of the Limits of my curſed Dominions.

Now am I arrived in a moſt Chriſtian Country, and under the Protection of the moſt Chriſtian King. This Place, though it had not been called ſo before, doth now deſerve the Name of *Havre de Grace*, as having indeed afforded a ſafe Haven to a Monarch who has been toſſed by a Tempeſt of Rebellion.

*Ave Regina Cœlorum,*
*Ave Domina Angelorum,*
*Salve radix, ſalve porta*
*Ex qua mundo lux eſt orta:*

*Gaude*

*Gaude Virgo gloriosa*
*Super omnes speciosa,*
*Vale, O valde decora,*
*Et pro nobis Christum exora.*

## CHAP. XVI.

*On his Majesty's being conducted to* Paris, *met by his Brother the Duke of* York, *and entertained at the French Court.*

IT's true I am now safe from the Fury of my rebellious Subjects; but alas I am a King without a People, and like a new married Husband deprived of his beloved Bride. I had scarcely tasted the Sweets of the Throne when I was deprived of my Soveraignty *per* Force; and instead of giving Laws to my own Subjects, am now constrain'd to wander amongst Strangers. I had not near obtain'd a plenary Possession when the Sword of an Usurper did serve me with an Ejection; and instead of going to *Paris* in Triumph, as did some of my Predecessors, I am glad to go thither as a Supplicant and Fugitive: And whereas my Ancestors did wear the Crown of *France*, I must now be obliged to that Monarch to preserve me for the Crown of *England*, and court his Endeavours for my Re-

ſtitution. Where my Fore-fathers us'd to command I muſt obey, and am glad to be entertain'd as a Subject where I ought to be a Soveraign. The Kings of *France* have been Priſoners in *England*, and now the Monarch of *Great Britain* is a Fugitive in *France*: So great is the Difference betwixt a King of *England* belov'd of his Subjects, and one who is at Variance and War with his People; for they who would have enabled me to come hither as a Conqueror, have now conſtrain'd me to become a Petitioner.

But more than enough of this melancholy Theme: I muſt ſtrive to make the beſt of my preſent Condition, in order to eſtabliſh my future Repoſe. Here I am ſafe from the Rage of Rebellion, and injoy the Society of my Royal Relations. Here I have a Palace inſtead of a Wood, and the Society of Princes in lieu of Clowns: I hold not my Life from the Courteſy of Peaſants, nor am I in hazard of Diſcovery by tatling Females. Here I can deſpiſe the Proclamation of the Rebels, and am neither in hazard by their Flattery nor Force. It behoves me now to re-aſſume my Spirits, and repreſent my Caſe to other crown'd Heads, and ſolicite them vigorouſly to eſpouſe my Cauſe, leſt the bad Example ſhould reach themſelves. I muſt declaim warmly againſt all Commonwealths, as mor-

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tal Enemies to the Name of Kings. I muſt alſo alarm the Church of *Rome*, and make the Pope underſtand the Danger of his *Tiara*; and that my Republican Subjects have not only ſworn the Deſtruction of all Crowns, but will involve the Mitres in the ſame Fate.

## CHAP. XVII.

*On his Majeſty's offering his Mediation betwixt the Prince of* Conde's *Faction, and that of Cardinal* Mazarin, *ſupported by the French King, and the Odium which he thereby brought upon himſelf from both Parties.*

MY Friends, if divided, can't give me that Aſſiſtance which I am ſure they might do if they were united, and therefore it's my Intereſt to have that effected. Circumſtances do ſpecify Actions, of which this is a remarkable Inſtance: If I were upon my Throne, and in full Proſperity, it would be my Advantage to pour Oil into the Flames, that by their mutual Diviſions I might triumph over both, and make good my Title to the Crown of *France*; but now that their Help is my only Refuge, I muſt endeavour an Accommodation. But of this I am reſolved to take ſpecial Care, that as much as I

can I will ſide with the Crown, which is the common Intereſt of all Monarchs.

*On his Majeſty's being ſuſpected by both Parties.*

The Office of Mediator I find very ungrateful, and he that parts Quarrellers muſt have Blows for his Pains. Of all Men alive I am the leaſt obliged to my Stars, for their malign Influence blaſts all my Deſigns, ſo that I can neither be in Peace at home nor abroad: My direful Fate purſues me every where, and not only involves my ſelf, but all my Relations in Ruine. I thought that Monarchy had been ſacred in *France*, and the Perſons of Princes not to be approached without Fear; I thought that their Monarchs had been ſucceſsful in making themſelves to be look'd upon as Gods on Earth, by keeping the greateſt part of their Subjects in Ignorance, that there was a God in Heaven: but now I find that the Contagion of Rebellion hath ſpread every where; and that my Mother, though a Princeſs of the Blood, is not ſecure in *France*; and that that Deference is not paid to the Royal Family in her own Country, which ſhe would have extorted from the Subjects in mine.

*O ye Saints! if ye have Ears to hear, or Hearts to conſider, have Compaſſion on a forlorn diſtreſſed Prince, who can neither be ſafe at home nor abroad: reſtore me to my Crown, that I may reſtore your Worſhip; or if I cannot reſtore it, that I may at leaſt connive at it. If the Catholick Church have any of your Merits in her Treaſure, let them be made uſe of to my Advantage.* Ave Maria.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*On Mrs.* Lane's *Arrival in* France: *His Majeſty's being diſappointed of* Mademoiſelle d' Orleans; *and treating with the Duke of* Lorrain *for the recovering of* Ireland.

HOW inveterate is the Malice of my natural Subjects, that not only purſue my left, but thoſe who entertain'd me, and vent their Rage againſt a poor Gentlewoman who befriended me. I am not in a Capacity of giving her a Royal Reward, but ſhall entertain her with Royal Honour; and as ſhe provided for my Safety, I will take care of hers, and repay her with *Publick Reſpect* for her *Private Service.*

My Predeceſſors of *England* have match'd with the Imperial Family, and muſt the King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* be thought too low for a Dutcheſs. My Father thought it a Condeſcenſion to take a Daughter of *France*, but I am not thought worthy of a remoter Princeſs. What vain things are Titles and Honour, without the Subſtance of Riches and Power! But if I be unſucceſsful in Royal Amours, I have not been ſo in thoſe which are meaner, and can ſatisfy *Nature*, though not my *Grandeur*.

My Loyal Subjects being unable to defend me; and the French King, though my Kinſman, unwilling to ſuſtain me, I muſt now have recourſe to inferiour Princes, whom, if I had my Right, I ſhould be able to command, but now muſt be obliged to court their Aſſiſtance, and quit part of my own Title for a Reward. How hard is my Condition? that I ſhould be reduced to call other Princes the Protector of my Subjects, and with the Addition of Royal, which would denote their Independance. But why may not they protect them as well as me, and injoy the Name as well as perform the Thing? It's true, my rebellious Subjects will ſay, that my making Application to Catholick Princes, and not to Proteſtants, is a ſhrewd Cauſe to ſuſpect my Religion; but I muſt conſult my own Intereſt,

tereſt, and not their Humours. Thoſe of them who are the firmeſt Proteſtants are already either jealous of me, or have avowedly declar'd againſt me; and for the Pillars of thoſe who call themſelves by the Name of the Church of *England*, they are already privy to my Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, which they don't much diſapprove, becauſe I feed them with Hopes of bringing the Church of *Rome* to an Accommodation with them; and ſhe will certainly do it, that ſhe may the better animate them againſt the Puritans, who being the moſt obſtinate of all the Hereticks, if they were once out of the way, the reſt will the more eaſily be brought to comply: for I perceive my Epiſcopal Friends do ſtill believe the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church, and the other Party to be none; and therefore a Reconciliation will be more eaſy with the former than the latter, eſpecially conſidering how near they approach in Diſcipline and Ceremonies to the Church of *Rome*. The Advances which Biſhop *Laud*'s Party made towards their Mother-Church alſo in Doctrine, will be a great ſtep towards the deſired Union; but that which will chiefly contribute thereunto is the implacable Hatred which my Grandfather and Father did always take care to nouriſh in thoſe of the Church of *England* againſt the Puritans,

Puritans, which is now increas'd by the late overturning of their Hierarchy: so that if ever I be restor'd, the one will infallibly assist me to destroy the other; and when the Destruction of the Round-heads is effected, and my Father's Blood at the same time sufficiently reveng'd, I shall next take the other Party to task; and seeing it is not Principle but Interest which keeps them from complying with the Church of *Rome*, I'l use my Endeavours to have it accomplished, or by —— the Church, or at least the hottest of them, shall smart for it: and thus I shall revenge my self on them too, for playing the Poltroon, and sotting in Taverns, while my Father was led to Execution, and declining to join my self when I entred *England*.

But as to my Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, I shall reap these Advantages from it: If he once be possessed of *Ireland*, he will be assisted by the Spaniards, to whom the Irish have a natural Inclination; and with his Help from thence I shall keep my rebellious Subjects in the other two Nations in perpetual Vexation, both with Incursions on that side, and from *Flanders*: Or if this don't take effect, the very Apprehensions of it will alarm the French, and move them rather to assist me themselves, than venture to give the Spaniards such an Advantage; for they may

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not only join the Duke of *Lorrain*'s own Subjects from the *Netherlands*, but when the Duke has footing in *Ireland*, he may eaſily join the Spaniards in their own Dominions, and invade *France*.

## CHAP. XIX.

*On his Majeſty's falling in love with one of his own Subjects in* France; *his marrying her, and having a young Prince by her, who was afterwards created Duke of* Monmouth.

HOW hard is my Fate, that I am ſtill deſign'd to be a Conqueſt, and that alſo to my own Subjects, firſt by the Arms of their Men, and then by the Amours of their Women. One might have reaſonably thought that I had received ſo many Affronts from my own People, that I ſhould never have been enamour'd on any of them; but, to my ſad Experience, I find it otherwiſe, and that *Cupid* tyrannizes over Kings as well as others, and commands us as imperiouſly as we command them, with a *ſic volo ſic jubeo*. Alas! that Love is Proof againſt all Cures, and that I cannot oblige it to withdraw at my Commands, which I find it entertains with as much Diſdain as the Waves of the Sea did thoſe

thoſe of my Predeceſſor, who ſmote them with his Scepter, and forbad them to approach his Chair. Thus I who might be courted by the greateſt of Foreigners, muſt languiſh in love for one of my Subjects, as if the Fates had decreed both Sexes of them an abſolute Conqueſt over me.

If I marry her, I am ſure to loſe my Intereſt; and if I do it not, I muſt ſacrifice my Content, for her Vertue I find altogether inſuperable: I muſt therefore comply with my Brother *James*'s Advice, and marry her privately before him and a Prieſt; and thus I may conſult my preſent Repoſe, and take my meaſures in time to come by future Contingents.

Nor am I like to be leſs unfortunate in the Quality of my own Match, than alſo in my Allies, by that of my Brother, who is catch'd in the like Snare; but who can reſiſt the Charms of Love? We muſt needs deplore the Hardneſs of our Deſtiny, to have *Mars* and *Venus* triumph over us at once, and each of them force us to an unequal Surrender. Our Father was reputed a Man of Chaſtity, but it's ſtrange that Incontinence ſhould be our Inheritance: I wiſh that it may not be hereditary from our Mother, of whoſe Honour I ought not to be ſuſpicious; but the Current of Fame, and our own Conſtitution, may juſtify

juſtify at leaſt this paſſing Reflection, which, if it ſhould be true, makes me but Neighbour-like; for my Couſin, the French King, lies under a more publick Scandal, and that not without ground, that he's the Spawn of a Prieſt: For whatever is the Cauſe, this I find by Experience, that Cardinal *Mazarin* has more Influence upon him than all the Peers and Grandees of his Kingdom: and though the Laws of Nations, which forbid the Violation of Hoſpitality, eſpecially to a neighbouring and injur'd Prince, might afford me a ſafe Retreat in this Kingdom; yet I find that I cannot be ſafe from Inſults, becauſe I advis'd that the Cardinal ſhould be remov'd.

*On the Conſummation of the Marriage, and the young Prince's Birth.*

*Hymen* I have found exorable, but *Mars* continues obſtinate: I have been ſucceſsful in my Love, though not by my Sword. My next great Care muſt be to keep the thing ſecret, elſe it will rejoice my Enemies, and diſguſt my Friends; the former, that I have ſo much degraded my ſelf, and rid them from the Fear of my Foreign Allies; and the latter, that I have thus put my ſelf out of a Condition of relieving them from the Yoak of

a tyrannous Uſurper; ſo that the Sweets which I enjoy are mix'd with ſowr; and my Stars have ſtill a malign Influence. The ſame Precautions muſt be us'd as to my Brother, and we muſt weather this Point as well as we can.

As my Comforts increaſe, ſo do my Cares; I have a Queen and a Prince, but cannot provide for them as I ought. However there's Vengeance entail'd upon my Enemies, for here's one more of the Line to revenge his Grandfather's Blood.

## CHAP. XX.

*On the French King's concluding a Treaty with* Oliver, *by which his Majeſty and the Royal Family were to be excluded* France, *and his going thereupon into the* Low-Countries.

SInce the Kingdoms to which I have a natural and hereditary Right, would not entertain me, it's no wonder that this, to which I have only a Title, ſhould refuſe it; ſo that my unlucky Fate hath now ſtripp'd me of all my Poſſeſſions, both Real and Titular: I have no reaſon to complain of *France*'s dealing thus with Princes of the Blood, when *Britain* and *Ireland* have done ſo by their natural Soveraign. Bleſs

Bleſs me! how ſtrange a thing is it that the Arms of a traiterous Subject ſhould be able not only to expel me from my own Dominions, but diſturb my Repoſe in thoſe of others? and how diſhonourable and unnatural is it for one Monarch to countenance Rebellion againſt another? But why ſhould I ſay thus? it is juſt with Princes as it is with the Pope, he would impoſe his Infallibility upon others, when he does not believe one word of it himſelf: So we would have our own Subjects to obey us without Reſerve, as being obliged by God ſo to do; and yet we countenance the Rebellions of one another's Subjects. Thus did my Father make a ſhew at leaſt of countenancing the French Hugonots againſt their natural Soveraign. My Grandfather, King *James*, though a great Admirer of Kingcraft, did, in ſome ſort, eſpouſe the Elector *Palatine*'s Quarrel againſt his Soveraign the Emperor: And my Predeceſſor Queen *Elizabeth* ſupported the *Netherlands* in their Rebellion againſt the King of *Spain*: So that in ſhort, my Church-of-*England*-Subjects may boaſt of their Loyalty what they pleaſe, but I think they have very ſmall Reaſon; for they that make no Scruple to countenance the Rebellion of others, will make no Conſcience of rebelling themſelves, if ever they have occaſion. And thus, if there

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be any thing like Divine Juſtice, I am puniſhed for the Sin of my Forefathers; and as they countenanc'd the Rebellions of other Princes Subjects againſt them, now others countenance the Rebellion of mine againſt me; ſo that amongſt us we ſhall expoſe the Dignity of Monarchy, and make all our Pretenſions be look'd upon as a Cheat.

But it's in vain to diſpute, the Fates have decreed it, and I muſt obey; ſo that rather than be ſent from this Kingdom with Diſgrace, or any publick Remark, I'l abandon it willingly of my own Accord, and ſave my Honour as much as I can.

## CHAP. XXI.

*On his Majeſty's travelling into* Germany *and the* Low Countries: *The Duke of* Glocester's *being importun'd and threatned by his Mother to turn Roman Catholick: and the Duke of* York's *being charg'd to depart* France.

INſtead of being a Monarch of three potent Kingdoms, I am now become a Citizen of the World, and muſt be content to reſide where I can find Reception. It's hard that *Lewis* XIV. ſhould have dealt thus with me;

me; and that the Advice of a Priest should take place to the Disadvantage of a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*; that he who covets the Title of *the most Christian King*, should not be more hospitable to a Prince who suffers for the most Christian Cause; that *France* should make a League with the Murderers of my Father, and yet erect a Monument to render the Jesuits eternally infamous for stabbing of *Henry* IV, my Grandfather; that the French King, who pretends to be Absolute himself, should so far approve of my Subjects Rebellion against me, appears with a very bad Aspect: He's not so much afraid of the Influence of the bad Example, as willing to keep the King of *Great Britain* humble, for fear I should pursue my Title to *France*; and knowing that Republicks are unfit for Conquest, he is rather inclinable to favour the New Commonwealth, and prefer his Interest to his Reputation.

Nor is it the French King alone who opposes my Designs, but my Mother, I perceive, has a hand in the pie, though I suppose she is misled by an Overcharge of Zeal. It's not my Interest that any of my Brethren should openly profess the Romish Religion, for that were a way to obstruct our Return; and yet she not only sollicites but threatens my youngest Brother if he do not openly pro-

fets himself of that Church; an Evidence that she had but little regard to my Father while alive, when she tramples so avowedly upon his Commands now that he's dead; if the Εικων Βασιλικη was truly his, wherein he not only advises me against any Change of my Religion, but all the rest of his Children: and though it's true that I have changed mine in Obedience to a higher Command, *viz.* that of Christ's Successor upon Earth, and for the advancing of my own Interest; yet it is not publickly known, and by Consequence is not scandalous; but for my Mother thus openly to scandalize the World by influencing my Brother to an avowed Breach of my Father's Commands, is no suitable Return for that last Message *which he sent her, that his Thoughts had never strayed from her*: So that either she must not believe that Book to be his, or is very impolitick to take such Measures. However I will make the best Improvement of it I can, and send for him away from under her Conduct, which will be a good Argument for my Friends in *England* to prove that I am firm in my Religion; and I will endeavour to perswade her that I do it out of Policy, because I would not come to a Rupture with her.

My Brother *James*'s being commanded out of *France* does justify the Policy of my former

mer Conduct, in not ſtaying till I was ſent away; which, though diſgraceful enough to him, would have been much more ſo to me: Having had ſuch ſlender Entertainment amongſt Papiſts, it will make our Friends in *England* believe that we are ſtill good Proteſtants, eſpecially now that I make Application for Aſſiſtance from Proteſtant States; ſo that I muſt turn every thing to my Advantage as near as I can, though I am not like to do much with the Republican States of *Holland*, who being jealous already of the Family of *Orange*, will be afraid leſt I ſupport their Intereſt: Yet it will ſtrengthen my Cauſe, if I get but a favourable Anſwer, becauſe it will be an Argument in the Mouths of my Friends, to prove that the Proceedings againſt me are diſlik'd by Foreign Proteſtants.

## CHAP. XXII.

*On his Majesty's being invited into the* Spanish Netherlands *by* Don John of Austria, *in name of his Catholick Majesty, upon the Rupture betwixt* Spain *and* France.

INstead of being able to serve my self, every one would serve their turn of me: the Spaniards, who refused my Father a Wife, do now proffer me their Assistance to regain my Crown, that they may the better preserve their own Dominions: My Presence they judg may be serviceable in *Flanders*, to withdraw my Subjects who have join'd the French: and now that I may be useful, they condescend to court me, and my Circumstances oblige me to try my Fate; perhaps my being present in Person may draw over some of my Subjects from the Enemy; and my being so near *England* may animate my Friends there to some brave Attempt; and seeing Fortune favours the Bold, I'm resolved to adventure, perhaps she may be sated with my past Miseries, and instead of her usual Frowns vouchsafe me some Smiles. The malign Influences of my Stars are, it may be, exhausted, and the Aspect of the Hea-

Heavens become more propitious. The Tyrant's Oppreſſion does fret my Subjects at home; and if Victory ſhould crown my Head with Laurels abroad, I may ſoon return with Triumph to my Throne. The Uſurper having diſobliged the Nobility by the height of Contempt, aboliſhing the Houſe of Lords, and ſqueezing the Commons, may perhaps incline them to witneſs their Reſentments, when they hear that I'm at the Head of a numerous Army. If the Church-of-*England*-men act their Part as the Presbyterians have done theirs, though I confeſs they are infinitely leſs obliged, they might quickly give the Uſurper ſuch a Diverſion as would oblige him to recal his Troops for his own Defence. But, alas! the Miſcarriage of all my Deſigns in *England*, and the renewed Attempts of my Friends in *Scotland*, give me reaſon to fear that the ſame ill Fate attends me abroad; and therefore I think it beſt not to be with the Army in Perſon, but ſend my two Brothers, and what Men I have, leſt my former ill Fortune ſhould give the Spaniards occaſion to ſay, that it had alſo an Influence on their Affairs, in caſe their Army ſhould be defeated.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*On the Defeat of the Spaniſh Army, and the Surrender of* Dunkirk *to the Engliſh.*

HOW are all my Hopes vaniſh'd in a Moment, and my towering Deſigns brought down to the Duſt: My ill Fate not only purſues my ſelf, but involves my Allies in the ſame Deſtiny. Thoſe who flatter this fortunate Uſurper will doubtleſs ſay now, *O nimium dilecte Deo*, for nothing can ſtand before him. The Loſs of this Battel does mightily affect me; ſo many of my beſt Friends having done their utmoſt to retrieve our loſt Cauſe in it, but in vain; and my two Brethren commanding in Perſon, have alſo been made ſenſible of the Frowns of Fortune; ſo that the whole Family will be henceforth eſteem'd unſucceſsful: and what dangerous Conſequences attend ſuch an Opinion of Generals, Experience hath taught in all Ages. There happened nothing favourable in this Rencounter, but that my Brother *James* being taken, had the good Fortune to eſcape: Whence I have ſome ground to hope that we are preſerved for better Times: and though Fortune at preſent favours *Oliver*, ſo that nei-

neither Scots, Dutch nor Spaniards can ſtand before him, the Caſe will not always continue thus, but the Wheel may turn upon him or his. My Subjects begin already to be weary of the Anarchy in the State; and the Presbyterians themſelves of the Confuſion in the Church: The Nobility and Gentry are angry to be trod under-foot by his Officers, who are Fellows of inferiour Quality: And by their deſiring him to take upon him the Title of King, it ſhows that they have no Diſlike to the Office; and being ſenſible of his Breach of his Oath, by taking the Government upon himſelf, though a ſingle Perſon, modelling their Parliaments as he pleaſes, though he was ſworn to maintain their Privileges, and governing them by an Army, though he would not allow my Father the Militia; they'l quickly come to draw ſuch Inferences, that ſeeing we muſt be tyranniz'd over, it were as good to be ſo by thoſe who have a long time been in poſſeſſion of the Throne, and will take care to leave ſomething worth the Enjoyment of their Poſterity, ſeeing they believe the Divine Right of a Lineal Succeſſion: whereas they who have no ſuch Principle nor Pretence, do only take care for themſelves, and make Hay while the Sun ſhines.

The giving up of *Dunkirk* to the Engliſh, is a very ſtrange and impolitick Act of *France*, if they have not ſome more than ordinary Aſſurance of *Oliver*. Had my Predeceſſor Queen *Mary* been poſſeſs'd of ſuch a Poſt on the Continent, the Loſs of *Calais* would never have broke her Heart: And if ever it happen that a warlike King injoy the Britiſh Diadem and *Dunkirk* at the ſame time, the Kingdom of *France* may have Cauſe to repent of this Folly; but, as I ſaid before, they are not ſo afraid of a Republick.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*On* Oliver's *Death*; Richard's *being declar'd Protector, ouſted by* Lambert *and the Army*, &c.

DEath hath effected what my Arms could not, and rid me of my greateſt Enemy. If there be any ſuch thing as a Supreme Being, the Saints and He have certainly heard my Prayers; and on that very Day of the Month when *Oliver* triumph'd over me at *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, Fate hath triumph'd over him; ſo that now I may begin to pluck up my Spirits, and hope that Fortune will favour me at length. This Man being

being dead, whom my Enemies did idolize, they have not ſuch another to fill up his room; and by his nominating his Son *Richard* to ſucceed him, he hath at once diſcovered his Folly and Hypocriſy; his Folly in naming ſuch an one who is unfit for the Charge, and his Hypocriſy in claiming a Lineal Succeſſion, which he did all along ſo ſtrenuouſly impugn.

*Richard* is depoſed by the ſame Power that ſet up his Father, which is a very remarkable piece of Juſtice; the Divine *Nemeſis* hath made them deſtroy their own Creature, and they will at laſt deſtroy themſelves. *Oliver* raiſed himſelf by concurring with Enthuſiaſts, and advancing the Power of the Army over the Parliament, and by the ſame Method the Frame of his own Government is pulled in pieces.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

*On his Majesty's being invited to a Treaty on the Frontiers of* Spain, *betwixt the French and Spanish Ministers, about a Peace betwixt those Crowns: Sir* George Booth's *Defeat: The Confusions which the Nations were cast into by* Lambert, *and General* Monk's *carrying on the Designs of restoring his Majesty.*

FOrtune begins now to look upon me with a more favourable Aspect, when the Great Potentates of *Europe* court me to be present at a Treaty of Peace; which, if concluded, may tend to my Restoration, without being obliged to my own Subjects; and then I may introduce the Catholick Religion in an open manner, as the Condition of the Assistance which is granted to me by Catholick Princes.

But, alas! the malign Influences of my Stars are not yet exhausted, for the Treaty is turn'd only to a Cessation of Arms; the French are very cold in their Caresses, and the Spaniards have only granted me some Complimental Honours.

Nor have I been more successful in my Subjects

jects Indeavours, Sir *George Booth* and his Party are defeated; ſo that I find the Presbyterians were more ſucceſsful againſt my Father than ever they have been ſince for him or me. And the Church-of-*England*-men, though they will expect to reap the greateſt Benefit from my Reſtoration, are very ſlack in their Endeavours towards it.

The only thing which looks with a favourable Aſpect, as to my Affairs, is, that the Nations are madded with ſo many Changes of Government, and always ſubjected to the Tyranny of the Army: Their Parliaments, the Conſervation of whoſe Privileges had a great ſhare in beginning the War, are alſo trampled under foot, which I know muſt exceedingly diſguſt the People.

The main Anchor of my Hopes is General *Monk*, whom I muſt careſs with great Promiſes to carry on my Deſigns, under a pretence of being zealous againſt me, till ſuch time as he may ſafely declare himſelf for me.

The Scots, I know, are weary of the Engliſh Uſurpation, and many of the Presbyterians there do ſtill think that I am their Friend; ſo that it will be eaſy for him to ſecure my Intereſt in that Nation; and while he ſummons their Gentry to abjure me by the Tender, he may form the Plot for my Reſtoration.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*On General* Monk's *having brought the Design of his Majesty's Restoration to Perfection: His Majesty's Declaration from* Breda, *and Entertainment of the Presbyterian Ministers there, who were sent over to him.*

NOW Fortune is surely sated with my Miseries, and instead of her Frowns vouchsafes me her Smiles: My Designs at length have prov'd successful, and now I am mounting to the Top of the Wheel; but that Lady is so fickle and unconstant, that I must be careful of the Measures which I take, and give my Subjects kind Words now, if I would have them to be my Servants for ever. The English Loyalty is purer than that of the Scots, who demanded much harder Terms from me; and seeing I swore the greater, I may very well promise the lesser, being resolved to keep them both alike. And seeing the Puritans complain'd of being persecuted in my Father's Reign, I must promise an Indulgence to tender Consciences: and, in short, take all possible Methods to sweeten my Subjects, till such time as I be settled upon the Throne, and then I shall punish the stub-

ſtubborn Schiſmaticks with a Vengeance for their old Rebellion. But I muſt be very cautious, and counterfeit a deal of Piety before the Puritanical Parſons who are ſent over to me: I muſt prepare ſome Prayers in their own canting Dialect, and order them to be brought where they may hear me at them in my Cloſet; and for once I'll imitate *Oliver*, who uſed always to pray with an audible Voice, by which he drew his Followers into a great Opinion of his Piety. He's a curſed Pattern indeed, but according to the Proverb, *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri*: And if I can but impoſe upon thoſe Leading Prieſts, the Cant will take univerſally amongſt the Party, and I ſhall carry on my Deſigns with the more Facility. It's true, that according to the common Notion of the World this may ſeem Atheiſtical; but ſeeing the Catholick Church will avouch that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, it cannot be unlawful for me to diſſemble with them; and if there be a God, he is not certainly ſuch as we have him repreſented, elſe he had never pav'd my Way to the Throne, ſeeing he muſt know that I never deſign'd to keep one Word of my Promiſes: ſo that I have no reaſon to ſuffer any Diſquiet in my Thoughts upon that account; for when thoſe who call themſelves Divines, and make it their Trade, cannot agree whether

ther there be only one God and no Persons, or one God and three Persons; nor yet as to the Rule which he hath left to direct us, nor the Meaning of that which some of them pretend to be the Rule; let meaner Persons trouble themselves about those Speculations, I'll concern my self how to live like a King. And seeing in their own Dialect they call me a God upon Earth, they shall obey my Will as the Vice-gerent of Heaven. And since it is uncertain whether there be either a God or a Heaven, I'll ease my self of the Trouble of my Prayers for time to come, as I have already done for some time past; and yet I perceive that my Affairs go on and prosper, while theirs, who do not only pray, but also howl and whine, are on the Declension; and certainly their God must be a very unkind Soveraign, to suffer the best of his Subjects, for so they must be if the Bible be his Word, to lie under the greatest Affliction. Surely I would not do so to the best of my Subjects if I could help it; but if they be such Fools as to think that Afflictions make them the fitter for Heaven, *qui decipi vult decipiatur*, for my part, if I can, I'll take my pleasure here, and venture upon what is to come hereafter.

There is still one dangerous Rock more on which I must beware of splitting, and that is, lest the People be jealous of my Designs on their

their Civil Liberties; for let them clamour and talk of Religion as much as they will, I find that to be pinch'd in the other is their principal Grievance; so that Stiffness in Religion is a thing peculiar to the Scots Presbyterians and their bigotted Followers: However I must be high in my Protestations, that there is nothing which I do so much lay to heart, as the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, and the Conservation of the Priviledges of Parliament; that all the Unkindnesses which I and mine have met with from Protestants, have not been able to alter my Opinion, as to the former; nor have all the Invasions which they have made upon my Prerogative, been able to put me out of Conceit with the latter; but that I shall always look upon their Counsel as the best, and be ready to comply with such Measures as they propose for the Advancement of Religion and Liberty.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*On his Majesty's being proclaim'd by the Parliament: His magnificent Entrance into* London, *and injoying that Countess of* Castlemain *the first Night.*

MY Designs have taken, and my Subjects are thereupon returned to their Duty; so that now I am recall'd by the Consent of the Nation, who were wearied by the Oppressions of the late Anarchy. I may now with Safety put off my Vizard in some measure, and say with Pope *Sixtus* V. that it's needless to stoop any longer now that I have found the Keys. The People, I perceive, are come to a high Flight of Loyalty; so that my small Escapes will not be taken notice of: And seeing all this Solemnity is for me, why should not I chiefly reap the Sweets of it? If the Subjects indulge themselves as to Wine and Women, upon this occasion, why should the same be denied to their Soveraign? The best way to carry on my Designs is to begin my Reign with Jollity, which will be grateful to those who have been so long restrain'd from Liberty. By this means I shall be sure to have the strongest Party;

Party; for all Mens natural Inclinations, which the Precisians call Lusts and Corruptions, will be certainly for me; and if once they get a Vent, will break out like an Inundation now that they have so long been under a Restraint. The youthful Nobility and Gentry will certainly adore my Reign on this account, as August and Splendid; and the Churchmen will be glad to be from under the Checks and Grimaces of the Puritans: so that the Whole being immers'd in Jollity and Pleasure, they'l quickly leave off the Cant of Religion and Property; and they who do otherwise, will be made the Subject of publick Ignominy.

Why may not I have the Countess of *Castlemain*, as well as *David* had *Bathsheba*? The Solemnity of this Day is a much more excusable Tentation than his viewing of a beautiful Woman from the top of his House. If I be privately reproach'd, as having invaded another Man's Property, I can tell them publickly, that Princes are not to be limited as private Men, they have a Right to the Persons and Goods of their Subjects; and who ought to say to a King, *What dost thou?* If I keep them from incroaching upon one another, they may very well allow me my Liberty: I am accountable to none but God, and him I will venture to take in my

own Hand; the Advancement of the Catholick Church will atone for all other Miscarriages; so that as to this I have no reason to be sollicitous; a good End will hallow the worst of Means: and seeing those who are called the debauchedst of Men have sometimes Pangs and Gripes of Conscience, a Licentiousness of Practice is the best Method of the World to reduce such to the Church of *Rome*, because Pardons may be had for the highest of Crimes; so that a Man may enjoy the Pleasures of Sin, and not only be freed from the Punishment due to it, but also assur'd of Heaven at last. And herein the Pope does as much as *Mahomet*, though under a Vail of greater Modesty, and secures to his Followers the Pleasures both of this World and that which is to come: so that I shall take care by this Method to pave the way for the Return of Popery, and make it appear that Debauchery is look'd upon by me as the best Test of Loyalty, as indeed it will be; for sure I am that Debauchees, as foolish Men call those who indulge the innocent Appetites of Nature, will never be Enemies to a Reign which allows them in it; but on the contrary, will be my surest Defence against all the Attempts of the Puritanical Precisians.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*On the Parliament's condemning the Regicides; and appointing an Anniversary Humiliation on the Day of King* Charles I*'s Murder.*

NOW when the Kingdom is in a Ferment of Loyalty, I must take care to revenge my Father's Death, wherein I shall be sure of the Concurrence of the Parliament; because that same Hand which cut off his Head cut off their Privileges; but I must push it further than I'm afraid they will be willing, and by my Friends and Pensioners procure an Act for an Anniversary Commemoration of my Father's Murder, by which I shall blazon his Vertues to all Posterity, and load his Enemies with the Height of Reproach, which will mightily tend to the Establishment of my Prerogative; for by crying out against his Murder, all manner of Opposition against Soveraigns will be condemn'd. I am sure of having the Church of *England*'s Assistance, because those that destroyed him did also destroy them; so that they will certainly defend his Cause as their own; and the more that they extol my Father, the more they depress their own Ene-

mies: ſo that I need not doubt but the Church-men will expreſs themſelves with all the Hyperboles imaginable, to diſplay the Horridneſs of the Murder, and the Piety and ſingular Vertues of *their Martyr*; which will be of ſpecial Uſe to ſupport my Pretenſions to an abſolute Monarchy: for when the Generality of the Pulpits ring with Declamations for Paſſive Obedience, it will create an Univerſal Abhorrence of all ſuch as are for any manner of Reſiſtance; which the Church-men will find themſelves oblig'd to promote, that they may throw Dirt upon the Presbyterians, who are Enemies to their Hierarchy. And thus by keeping the Proteſtants at Enmity amongſt themſelves, and the ſtiffeſt and moſt obſtinate amongſt them under the Hatches, I ſhall be the better enabled to deſtroy the whole, and bring in Popery by Degrees, if not by Head and Shoulders.

But as to the Regicides, to have them condemned has been no hard matter, becauſe the Parliament did never approve of their Proceedings; and from their Condemnation I ſhall reap this Advantage, that the Means muſt fall under the ſame Cenſure with the Inſtruments; and all things which contributed to my Father's Death as a *pretended Zeal for Religion, and the Privileges of the People*, will be look'd upon as certain Marks of Diſloyalty.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*On his Majeſty's diſſolving the Parliament which called him in, and ſummoning another.*

THis Parliament hath done all that I am to expect from them, and therefore it's expedient that I ſhould diſſolve them, it not being ſafe to truſt too much to a Parliament that has ſuch an Alloy: I muſt ſummon another, which will be fitter for my purpoſe, and bring in as many of my Companions in Exile as I can: Their Spirits are imbitter'd by their former Sufferings, and their Purſes are ſtill ſenſible of their Sequeſtrations, which will make them the more eager for a Revenge; and to help it on, I will ſtill keep them low, and feed them with Promiſes to carry on my Deſigns. I muſt now begin to think of my Engagements to the Catholicks; and towards the better accompliſhing of them, muſt reſtore the Biſhops, which I can eaſily do now that the Houſe is fill'd with my Friends, who will be glad of ſuch a Revenge upon the Presbyterians. I have weather'd the Point in other things of as great Conſequence, ſo that I need not deſpair of ſucceeding in this. Let the Scots Phanaticks

upbraid me with the Breach of Covenant, and the Engliſh Roundheads with my Declaration from *Breda*, I am not concern'd to regard ſuch Trifles. The former was tyrannically impos'd both upon me and my Subjects; and the latter was only an Eſſay of Policy. When I was under Reſtraint I might abate of my Prerogative; but now that I am at Liberty I may as lawfully regain it, for I can never be diveſted of my native Right. They both ſay that I am God's Vice-gerent, and therefore if I part with my own Prerogative I part with his; but if I muſt follow my own Inclination, I had rather ſay with the noble *Pharaoh*, *Who is the Lord that I ſhould obey him?* And if the Puritans call themſelves *Iſraelites*, I'm reſolv'd to keep them in Bondage; and though I don't allow them Straw, will exact the Tale of the Brick: I ſhall expect as much Loyalty and Obedience from them, as from thoſe who have my Favour; and if I find them come ſhort, they ſhall be ſure to ſmart for it: They are a Company of idle Enthuſiaſts, and therefore ſay, *Let us go ſerve the Lord*; but they ſhall ſerve him in my way, or not at all. I have already overturned their *Babel* in *Scotland*, or have rather indeed kept it under, as I found it, for *Oliver* had pretty well humbled them to my hand; and inſtead of an Indulgence there ſhall

shall be a strict Uniformity in *England*, which will set the Episcopal Party and the Presbyterians together by the Ears; and then the Catholicks may take their Advantages to promote their Religion; and I shall improve the Opportunity to advance my Prerogative. When the Pulpits are once emptied of the Presbyterian Parsons, who preach up such rigid Morals, I'll take care that the Bishops shall not imploy Precisians, but Men of a more courtly and complaisant Temper, who will allow a greater Latitude both in Doctrine and Example, that the Church may have no reason to upbraid the Looseness of the Court. Nor shall I value the morose Reflections of Fanaticks upon my Principles and Practice, but contemn them as unworthy of a Monarch's Regard.

I am happy in the Model of this present Parliament, for they have given me as much as I can at present desire: they have made me an Offering of the Peoples Purses, Privileges and Lives; have enacted such Laws as will make one Protestant devour another, and do every thing according to my own Mind. How great is the Change betwixt mine and my Father's Days, when the Parliament thought they could never restrain him enough, and my Parliament think every thing too little for me. Thus the Triennial Act, which

ſecur'd the Peoples Properties, and was with ſo much Struggling obtain'd from my Father, is now made a Sacrifice to my Prerogative, ſo that their chiefeſt Fortreſs is ſurrendred at once. They have not only provided for my living in Splendor, but alſo taken care of my Reputation: And leſt ſome ſharp-ſighted Fellows ſhould perceive my Deſign of introducing Popery, they have forbid it to be ſpoken of on pain of *Præmunire*, though at the ſame time I be in actual Correſpondence with the Pope; ſo that I find my Penſions are well laid out; and though at preſent they be expenſive, yet they are but like the putting of a ſmall Quantity of Water into a Pump, to draw out an hundred times more.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXX.

*On the Presbyterian Plots set on foot* Novemb. 1661. *Sir* J. P's *forging treasonable Letters to that effect. His Majesty's appointing a Conference at the* Savoy *betwixt the Conformists and Nonconformists; and influencing the House of Commons to offer Reasons against any Toleration.*

DIvide and Command was *Machiavel's* Maxim, and I find it very necessary for me to put in practice, that my Subjects may not unite against me as formerly against my Father. That I may the better revenge my Father's Death, and my own Injury upon the Puritans, I must find a way to make them be thought guilty of Plots against the Government, which will be readily believ'd, because they join'd with the Parliament against my Father, and look upon themselves as oppress'd and betray'd by me; and I need not doubt of its being believ'd by those of the Church of *England*, who are their irreconcileable Enemies; for when the one is up, the other must go down: and then I shall reap this Advantage from it, that the Pulpits will thunder Invectives against them, and bring the

the general Odium of the Nation upon them, by which ſome of them will be obliged to comply, which will create Diviſions amongſt their own Party. And ſome of the moderate Churchmen will be diſpleaſed at the Severities uſed againſt the Presbyterians; and by this Means I ſhall break all the Proteſtants to pieces amongſt themſelves. To give my Accuſation the Face, at leaſt, of Probability, I muſt take care to have treaſonable Letters lodged with their chief Patrons, for which Sir *J. P.* is a very fit Inſtrument. It will alſo be a very proper Method to ſuborn Fellows to talk of treaſonable Deſigns amongſt ſuch of them as are unwary; and if they cannot be indicted for High Treaſon, they may very well be purſued for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; and if they themſelves be brought to confeſs that they heard of ſuch Deſigns, others will believe that they had actually a hand in contriving them; and when once ſome of them are convicted by Publick Juſtice, and executed accordingly, it will confirm the Belief of a Plot, and ſtrike a Terror into the reſt.

But that the State may not bear all the blame, I muſt bring in the Church for a ſhare; and though I appoint them by Commiſſion to conſer with the Nonconformiſts about Methods for a Comprehenſion, yet they

they ſhall have private Inſtructions, not to comply: And that they may not at firſt perceive my Deſign, I ſhall take care to inſinuate that their conceding in one thing will occaſion all the reſt to be call'd in queſtion; and then by the Influence of the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords, and of the Members of the Clergy's Choice in the Houſe of Commons, I ſhall bring it to paſs that the Phanaticks ſhall fall into a general Diſgrace, and be reputed not only ſuch in Name, but in Deed, and not at all worthy of a Toleration; which I reckon the beſt Politicks that I can put in practice, to ruine the moſt zealous Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion firſt, and then the reſt will quickly be brought to comply with my Deſigns, and abandon that Religion of which they have little or nothing but the Name, or at leaſt render it odious and of ſmall Eſteem, by walking unanſwerably to its Principles. And if any cunning Fellow ſhall ſmell out my Deſign, I have provided againſt his daring to ſpeak of it by the Act againſt thoſe who ſhall declare me a Papiſt, or that I have a Deſign to introduce Popery: And though thoſe who are ſharp-ſighted may laugh at ſuch a Proviſion, as rather giving than taking away Cauſe of Suſpicion, yet when it dare not be openly talk'd of amongſt the Vulgar, it will not obtain a common Belief:

lief: And the Church of *England*, whom I ſupport againſt the Phanaticks, will certainly ſupport me againſt their Cenſures. And thus when I have made one Party of Proteſtants to bait the other ſufficiently, if the Church of *England* prove refractory afterwards to my Deſigns, then I ſhall endeavour, by remitting the Rigour of the Law, to ingage the Diſſenters, on my ſide, to favour an univerſal Toleration, by which my Friends the Papiſts may have eaſe, if the Epiſcopal Party begin to grudg at my Favours towards them, or to fear that at laſt they may diſpoſſeſs themſelves.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*On his Majeſty's ſelling of* Dunkirk *to the French King for* 500000 *l.*

THis I know will be cenſured as an impolitick Action, and the ſhutting my ſelf out of the Continent, whereunto this Town opened a Door, by which I might have invaded *France* and the *Netherlands* when I pleaſed. It's true that it was a Monument of *England*'s Glory, but ſuch an one as being erected under the Conduct of an Uſurper, is not for the Credit of me nor my Family; and

and therefore leſt it ſhould be an Allurement to re-intice my People to a Commonwealth, I will make it a Sacrifice to my Couſin the French King: Not that I owe ſo much to his Kindneſs, but that he may ſupply my preſent Neceſſities with his Money. And to teſtify my farther Reſentments of that impious Rebellion, the Citadels which *Oliver* built ſhall be raz'd throughout my Dominions, and the Towns which held out againſt my Father diſmantled; and if it were not that the Conſequence would be fatal to my ſelf, every one of them ſhould be ſowed with Salt, their Inhabitants made to paſs under Saws of Iron, and have their Fleſh torn with the Briars and Thorns of the Wilderneſs: But I muſt pretend other Cauſes to the People, leſt they ſhould be enraged, as that I won't keep up Gariſons amongſt them, when there is no need to diſturb their Commerce, nor leave it in the Power of other Kings to do it, when the Places which are capable of being gariſon'd are diſmantled: though in reality it is to prevent the Rebels from neſtling there, or having recourſe to them to favour their Rebellion, the beſt way to be rid of the Harpies being to deſtroy their Neſts: And that I may free my ſelf at once, as much as is poſſible from that viperous Brood, as I have already disbanded the Army, under pretence that I would

would not keep up one in time of Peace, but in reality because I would not have such a Body of well-disciplin'd Troops of their Principles together, lest at any time they should make head against me as against their former Masters, the *Parliament*, *Richard*, &c. So now I'll forbid their old Officers to stay within 20 Miles of *London*, and the Remainders of the Troops I'll send to fight against the Spaniards in my Wife's Quarrel; and if they never return, as I hope few of them will, I can very well bear the Loss.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*On the Parliament's beginning to grow sensible of the Incouragement given to the Catholick Religion by his Majesty's Declaration*, Decemb. 1662. *Their Petition on that head: and his Majesty's publishing a Proclamation against Papists thereupon.*

IT's a mischievous thing for a Soveraign to be limited, and to be obliged to act the King only by halves. How happy is my Brother of *France* who is not troubled with such Fetters, but his Will does pass for an uncontroulable Law. I abhor those Parliaments, for they are nothing else but Spies upon

on Kings, and dive into their most reserved and hidden Intrigues: I find they begin to suspect my Religion, and grudg at the Favours which I show to the Papists, and therefore I must proceed slowly and surely. Their Zeal to my Prerogative is regulated by their own Interest, which makes them oppose my Dispensing Power: So that I find I am only absolute against Phanaticks and Republicans; but when I come to meddle with the Church of *England*, my Power is limited, and the Parliament must then be Sharers of the Sovereignty. Their Petitions against my Administration may issue in Remonstrances against my Government, as it happened in my Father's time, and therefore it is my Interest to flatter them a little; and by a Proclamation against the Papists to create an Opinion of my Firmness to the Protestant Religion in the Publick, draw Money from the Purses of the Commons; and so to recoil, to give the stronger and heavier Blow.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*On the News of ſome more Plots by the Phanaticks againſt his Majeſty both in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland. *The Execution of the Earl of* Argyle, *Lord* Wariſton, *&c. in* Scotland; *and ſome of thoſe concerned in the Plots in* England *and* Ireland.

I Find that I ſhall bring my Deſigns about by Degrees, and under the Notion of Plotters execute Vengeance upon mine Enemies, without incurring the Cenſure of being bloody or cruel. It's true that it may ſeem hard that I ſhould take the Earl of *Argyle's* Head, who was the Perſon that ſet the Crown upon my own: But during this Extacy of Loyalty, in which the Nations are at preſent, the Method of ſuch Proceedings will be the leſs taken notice of; and it's abſolutely neceſſary for my purpoſe that the Earl of *Argyle* ſhould be taken out of the way; the Greatneſs of his Power, and his Zeal for his Religion, may otherwiſe prove great Impediments to my Deſigns: I have Pretences enough againſt him, becauſe of his Activity in the Parliament's Rebellion; and his Death will be acceptable to the Church of *England*, be-

becauſe he was Head of the Presbyterians; and the Friends of the late Marquiſs of *Montroſſe*, and all the Cavaliers, will concur with my Deſign againſt him; and though there is no doubt but that he will profeſs his Innocence on the Scaffold, yet the Authority of a publick Sentence will be of greater Weight, or at leaſt reſtrain the People from open Murmurings. By his Death I ſhall have alſo this farther Advantage, that the Power of his Clan will be thereby reduced, and neither be formidable to my ſelf nor Succeſſors, it being the Intereſt of all Crowns to guard againſt too potent Subjects. As to Sir *Archibald Johnſton* of *Wariſton*, though he be not ſo great in Power, yet he is nothing inferiour to the other in Policy, but indeed far above him: and as the Trojans ow'd their Deſtruction more to *Ulyſſes*'s Counſels than *Achilles*'s Arms, it's my Intereſt to rid my ſelf of a Politician, who is my Enemy, as ſoon as of one who is greater in Power and Quality. And though it be reckon'd no great Policy for a Monarch, newly re-eſtabliſh'd, to cement his Throne with Blood, yet it is not only good Policy, but abſolutely needful, in my caſe, to ſacrifice the Ring-leaders of the Presbyterians while they are at preſent under a Conſternation, before they have time to recollect their Spirits, and make

head againſt me; and therefore I am reſolv'd on a Victim of each ſort, *viz.* of their Nobility, Gentry and Clergy; and ſo Mr. *James Guthry*, who hath appeared ſo ſtout for the Privileges of their Church, as being ſupreme Judg themſelves in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, ſhall ſmart for his Opinion. And thus I will pave my way to the Enjoyment of my Prerogative, both in Affairs of Church and State, over the Bellies of my Enemies. Nor muſt it be in *Scotland* alone where the Effects of my Reſentments ſhall be felt, but in both my other Kingdoms, for I muſt take care to have the Apprehenſions of a diſcontented Party continued in all the three Nations; of which I ſhall make theſe Advantages, that they will ſerve for a Ballance againſt the Church of *England* if ſhe grow ſtubborn, and always ſerve for a Pretence of a Neceſſity of keeping up Forces; and the ſacrificing of them to the Fury of the Epiſcopal Party, will be at all times an effectual Means of draining their Pockets, and making them concur to the raiſing of Money in Parliament: and when at any time I am minded to amuſe the People with the Noiſe of a Plot, it will be the more eaſily believed, ſeeing there is a Party, who being exaſperated with Oppreſſion, it may be reaſonably thought that they will endeavour to procure their own Liberty.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*On his Majesty's making War upon the Dutch,* Anno 1664.

LEST the Nation should grow luxuriant with too long Peace, it's fit that I should engage them in War abroad, to prevent their having leisure to tumultuate at home. Had my Father done so, he might have prevented his Disaster. I have Pretences enough of quarrelling with the Dutch, but if they be not thought weighty, I must endeavour to make them appear so. My Pensioners, which I have in the House of Commons, will easily be influenc'd to find justifying Causes: And seeing the Nation are jealous of their Trade, as their principal Support, to give out that the Dutch have incroach'd upon that, will be most plausible and taking; and the natural Hatred which the Episcopal Party have against the Dutch Presbytery, and Form of Government, will render them easy to believe the Crimes charged upon them, and make them concur with Zeal enough in their Destruction. And for the other Party, who will certainly murmur and guess at that which is the real Cause

of the War, it will afford me an Opportunity to treat them the more ſeverely, and juſtify the Rigour which ſhall be uſed towards them. And in the mean time I ſhall carry on the common Deſign of reſtoring the Church of *Rome* under ſuch Colours as will not be eaſily diſcerned, it being indeed fit to raze out the Memory of that People from under Heaven, and not to leave ſuch a Monument of ſucceſsful Rebellion againſt Monarchy and the Catholick Church in Being. It's true that my Deſign may be tax'd with Ingratitude, conſidering the kind Entertainment that I found amongſt them during my Exile: but as I have been happy in palliating my Treatment of the Spaniards, and the Scots Presbyterians, both of whom were very kind to me; I doubt not alſo to find Excuſes for this, which will in ſome meaſure ſatisfy the Publick.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*On the Parliament's voting to ſtand by his Majeſty till he had a Redreſs for the Injuries done to his Subjects by the Dutch. The King's great Care to have his Fleet ready before theirs, putting them off by fair Promiſes, ſeizing their* Bourdeaux *Fleet without declaring War*, &c.

MY Parliament I do find are made to my purpoſe, partly by Penſion, and partly by Principle; and having them on my ſide, I am ſafe enough. If any of the Phanaticks ſhall be ſo bold as to mutter, that Popery is at the bottom of this War; or if the Dutch ſhould give it out ſo to poſſeſs the Minds of Foreign Proteſtant Princes with prejudice againſt me, the Parliament's being on my ſide will knock all their Suggeſtions on the head; for who will believe that the Proteſtant Repreſentatives of a Proteſtant Nation will concur in a Deſign to deſtroy their own Religion? But at the ſame time I'll take care to have it truly repreſented to the Pope and the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and they, together with the French King, who is in the Deſign with me, will be too ſtrong for all

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Oppoſers; and what by their Strength and my own Policy, we ſhall be able to carry the Deſign on to perfection. But conſidering the ill Fate which attended the Spaniards in their Deſigns againſt that cautelous People, I muſt proceed very warily, and hide my Intentions as much as I can, till I find ſufficient Advantage againſt them; and accordingly my Envoy ſhall have Inſtructions to aſſure them of my good Intentions, until ſuch time as I can entrap their *Bourdeaux* and *Smyrna* Fleets, which will enable me to manage the War againſt them at their own Charge: And tho ſuch Practices might be eſteem'd diſhoneſt amongſt private Men, yet it will paſs for juſtifiable Policy with Princes; and in the mean time I will order it ſo as to have my Fleet ready before theirs, and begin Hoſtilities without declaring War. My Brother the Duke of *York* ſhall be my Admiral, of whoſe Zeal againſt that Heretical Republick I have no reaſon to doubt; and this will beſides render him popular to the Nation, if he happen to be ſucceſsful, and pave his way to the Crown if he outlive me, and that I have no Iſſue, and by conſequence ſecure the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome* in theſe Nations.

I muſt magnify the Zeal of my Parliament, and thank them for eſpouſing my Quarrel ſo kindly,

kindly, which will keep them ſtill in a good Humour, and make them juſtify my whole Conduct in the Affair, and whet their Zeal to enact ſevere Laws againſt the Nonconformiſts, who are Men of the ſame Principles with the Dutch. So that during this Ferment againſt the Puritans I ſhall provide for the Security of my Friends the Papiſts, which will be the more eaſily overlook'd. I have alſo receiv'd Aſſurance of the French King's Concurrence, who will demand Reparation from the Dutch for his two *Eaſt-India*-Ships which they have taken, and together we ſhall deſtroy that Bulwark of Hereſy.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*On the French King's making Peace with the States. Several Skirmiſhes, with various Succeſs. The Victory at Sea by the Duke of* York; *and the Plague which broke out in* London *in* 1665.

MY Brother of *France* hath fail'd of his Promiſe; ſo that I find that I have the ſame Meaſure dealt to me which I deal to others; and he indeavours to take the Advantage of the Dutch and me both: How-

ever I'll let him know that I can go on without him: And though I have hitherto gain'd nothing by this Rupture with *Holland*, but that Fortune hath favoured them as well as me in ſmall Rencounters, yet I am reſolv'd to puſh it on as far as I can, and let that proud Monarch know that he is not the ſole Inheritor of *Henry* the IV's Glory and Grandeur.

## *On the Victory.*

The Poets are in the right when they repreſent Juſtice blindfold, for in good earneſt it ſeems that ſhe determines Cauſes by chance, and that the good things of this World are made for thoſe who can catch them: and if there be any ſuch thing as a Deity, it ſees not as Men ſee; nor does it act according to thoſe Rules which are in vogue amongſt us Mortals. The Dutch pretend to have that which they call Religion and Juſtice on their ſide; and in truth if that which is eſteemed the Rule of both, be true, their Pretenſions are not ill founded, and yet the Victory hath fallen to me. Then ſeeing we are not certain what be the Rules and Decrees of the Higher Powers, it's rational for Men to follow their own Inclinations, and gratify their natural Appetites as much as they can. The contrary Principle ſeems very unreaſonable,

nable, that we who look upon our ſelves as a happy Race of Creatures ſhould yet labour under a ſeverer Reſtraint; and that we ſhould be denied the pleaſing of what's viſible for the pretended Safety of ſome, I do not know what, inviſible Subſtance. But from this Victory I ſhall be ſure of theſe following Fruits; In the firſt place that it will give Credit to my Arms, which have not hitherto been reckoned ſucceſsful; and in the next it will magnify my Brother's Conduct, which will ſtill contribute to render me the more formidable. It will alſo create Diſorders in *Holland*, which may be improved to my great Advantage, and it will ſecure me from the Murmurs of the Rabble at home, who always meaſure the Juſtice of a Cauſe by its Succeſs; and it will be a prevailing Argument with the Parliament to go chearfully on with their promiſed Supplies.

But my Joys are neither long-liv'd nor unmix'd; for though I be Conqueror by the Sword, I'm conſum'd by the Plague, which rages in the Bowels of my Capital City. No doubt the Phanaticks will ſay that it is for the Sins of me and my Family; as *Iſrael* was plagu'd for *David*'s numbring of the People: but as my Subjects are not ſo well deſerving as his, I am not obliged to be ſo much concern'd as he was; nor am I indeed any further,

ther, than that it weakens and renders me leſs able to carry on the War, and will be eſteem'd by my Enemies as the Hand of God againſt me. But for the Reflection of the Phanaticks, I can eaſily turn it upon themſelves, that it's a juſt Puniſhment upon the Nation for their unnatural Rebellion, and the horrid Murder of their King and my Father: and if this be once given out at Court, I am ſure it will be eccho'd again from the Pulpit: and as that will juſtify the utmoſt of my Severity in *Scotland* by free Quarter, *&c.* on the Presbyterians there, it will alſo defend my Proceedings againſt their Brethren in *England*, to keep them in Priſons at *London*, &c. till they die of the Contagion here: And as for my ſelf and my Court, we can remove to a Place of better Air. And though the Bills of Mortality do increaſe to a prodigy, it's a juſt Vengeance on the rebellious City: and if it come to the worſt, that I ſhould want Men to carry on the War, I can quickly make up a Peace abroad; and when my Subjects are diminiſhed, I am the leſs in hazard by a Rebellion at home.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*On the meeting of the Parliament at* Oxford, *becauſe of the Plague at* London. *The King's Speech to them about the Dutch War, and Supplies. The Chancellor's Enlargement on it. The Act for baniſhing Nonconformiſts five Miles from Corporations.*

AS this City afforded a ſafe Retreat to my Father from his rebellious Subjects at *London*, it furniſhes me with the like during the Peſtilence which hath ſeiz'd upon that City for their Rebellion: And as the Londoners had Influence upon the then Parliament to increaſe their Obſtinacy, I doubt not but the Univerſity will have Influence upon this to heighten their Loyalty. My Buſineſs is now to applaud the Parliament for their adviſing me to a War with *Holland*, which hath hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful: And as it will convince them that I am willing to make them Sharers of my Glory, it will render them the more willing to make me a Sharer of their Purſes: But leſt thoſe amongſt them who are firm Proteſtants ſhould perceive my Deſign, and blame my Conduct for leaguing with Popiſh Princes to procure the

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Deſtruction of the Dutch, I muſt hide my Deſigns under a pretence of repaying them in their own Coin; and that my ſtirring up the Biſhop of *Munſter* againſt them, is only becauſe they have given an ill Character of me to Foreign Proteſtant Princes: And conſidering that it was neceſſary for the Nation's Glory that thoſe ſtubborn Republicans, who had broke the Power of *Spain*, ſhould be humbled by *England*, the Parliament have no reaſon to be angry at my ſupplying the Biſhop of *Munſter* with Money. And at the ſame time I will pretend that I am willing to come to a Peace upon reaſonable Propoſitions; and give my Lord Chancellor Order to inſiſt and enlarge upon thoſe Heads, and to declare the Affronts which the Dutch put upon the Royal Family before my Reſtoration; which as it will incenſe the Cavaliers in the Houſe, it will ſilence thoſe who are fanatically inclin'd. And the better to colour my Demands of Money, I muſt take care to have the ill Condition that my Magazines for Arms and Naval Stores were in, repreſented to the full, and the Pains and Charges which I have been at magnified to the life.

The Parliament I find have anſwered my Expectations, and not only ordered me ſufficient ſtore of Money to carry on the War, but have given a Gratuity to my Brother the Duke,

Duke, notwithſtanding of its having been repreſented by ſome, that his Cowardice, under pretence of want of Repoſe, gave the Dutch an Opportunity to eſcape better than they would have done otherwiſe. And that nothing may be left unattempted which may tend to the Ruine of the Proteſtant Intereſt, he and I have not only delivered up Monſieur *Rohan*, who came to acquaint me with the French King's Deſigns to ruine his Proteſtant Subjects, and to propoſe Meaſures which might have prevented it, and advanc'd my own Glory, as he imagin'd, but by my Sollicitation I have alſo got the ſtricteſt of my own Proteſtant Subjects declar'd uncapable of Truſt, except they comply with that which is contrary to their Conſciences, and their Preachers to be baniſh'd five Miles from Corporations, which is a thing of mighty Conſequence to the carrying on of my Deſign; for by this Means I ſhall not now be peſtered with Returns of Preciſians and Republicans for Members of Parliament, nor can they have any ſhare in the managing of the Government: And as for the other Party, they are ſo much taken up with the Diſcipline and Rituals of their Church, that they are not very ſollicitous what Innovations be made in her Doctrine: And I have always found that their Harmony with the Church

of

of *Rome*, in the outward part, hath engendred in them a better Opinion of the Papists than Presbyterians. And thus at once I strike at the Protestant Interest at home and abroad. It's true that the delivering up of that French Gentleman, and our placing the French Ambassador behind the Curtain, to hear his Complaints and Proposals for Redress, may seem inglorious, and a thing below a Crowned Head: But as it will confirm my Friends the Papists, in their good Opinion of me, it must needs be an Engagement upon the French King, though I am but little obliged to his Care of my Reputation, that suffered the Criminal to be examin'd as to his Converse with me, while they were breaking him upon the Wheel; but I perceive he thinks it his Interest to keep me low in the good Opinion of my Subjects, lest I should put a stop to the Career of his Ambition, which is his Predominant, as Sensuality is mine: but he is mistaken in his Measures, I am as zealous for promoting of the Catholick Religion as he can be, nor do I care how or by what Methods it is effected, so it be but accomplished. But I shall not trouble my self neither to enlarge my own, nor stop the Course of his Conquests; for I am as much concern'd to gratify my predominant Passion, which requires Ease, as he is to gratify

tify his, which is constantly attended with Hurry and Trouble.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*On the Dutch's recalling their Ambassador from* England. *The King's Letter by him to the States: and the French King and his Majesty's Declarations of War against each other.*

THE Dutch having recall'd their Ambassador, imports that they have no Hopes of obtaining a Peace; however, to dazle the Eyes of the World a little further, I'll send a Letter by him, with an Offer of Proposals to the States, wherein I will charge them as the Beginners of the War, and testify my own Inclination to bring it to an end; which, though it is plain will never obtain Belief, yet will serve for a Pretence, that the Continuance of the War is not my choice, and consequently free me a little from the Odium of the Havock which the Bishop of *Munster*, with his Popish Forces, makes in a Protestant Country, and furnish Arguments to my Friends of the Church of *England*, against those who suggest that my Design at bottom is to promote a Popish Interest.

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The mutual Declarations of War by my ſelf and the French King againſt each other, will very much contribute to a Concealment of our Deſigns, and give us an opportunity of deſtroying the Dutch more advantagiouſly; for I am very well aſſured that the French Troops, which march to the Aſſiſtance of the Hollanders, will annoy them as much as thoſe of their Enemies, and make them quickly repent the calling in of ſuch Auxiliaries: but however there is this which will be gain'd by it, that it cannot well be thought that my Deſign is againſt the Proteſtant Religion, when a Monarch, who is a profeſſed Papiſt, and the eldeſt Son of the Church of *Rome*, does ſeemingly oppoſe me, though by the Meſſage which he lately ſent to my Mother, he hath ſufficiently inform'd me as to his ſecret Intenſions; ſo that betwixt us I doubt not but we ſhall ruine that Knot of Hereticks: And as I have brought their Friends here in *England* under the Laſh of the Law, I will take care to undo their Brethren in *Scotland*, where by the Concurrence of their new Biſhops, and the Zeal of my Privy Council, I can do what I pleaſe, ſeeing all the Presbyterians are excluded the Government: And thus while I ſet one Party of Proteſtants againſt another at home, and daſh the Proteſtants of *England* againſt thoſe of

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*Holland* abroad, I ſhall advance the Church of *Rome*, and my own Prerogative, apace.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Upon the Sea-fights with the Dutch*, May *and* July, 1666. *both ſides pretending to the Victory: And the French's lying by, though they came as if they deſign'd to aſſiſt the Dutch.*

I Cannot always chain Succeſs to the Wheels of my Chariot, nor promiſe my ſelf Happineſs in every Undertaking. I obtain'd one Victory over the Dutch, and therefore may the better bear with my preſent Loſs; though, at the ſame time, I muſt conceal it, to prevent the Grumblings of the People, and order all the publick Tokens of Joy for a Victory. How true were the French to their Promiſe of deceiving the Dutch, and making them rely on their Aſſiſtance, yet afforded them none; ſo that though I have not obtain'd a Victory by this Procedure of theirs, yet it hath conſiderably diminiſh'd my Loſs; for if the Dutch had not been deceiv'd by relying on the French, they would have been better provided of themſelves, and in a Capacity to purſue the Blow further home: And

in truth I muſt needs applaud the French King's Conduct, in letting the Engliſh and Dutch Hereticks fight it out, and ſave his Catholick Subjects for a better Time and Service. From their lying by I ſhall alſo reap this Advantage, that though the Dutch proclaim their Victory, it will be the leſs credible; and my Pretenſions to the ſame will be the better believed: but the Miſchief on't is, that their appearing ſo ſpeedily at Sea, after the Noiſe of my pretended Victories, gives the People occaſion to ſuſpect my Veracity.

## CHAP. XL.

### *On the Firing of* London.

THE Sword, Peſtilence and Fire, are three of the heavieſt Plagues that can befal a People; and of late I and mine have had our Shares of them. This dreadful Conflagration would be as pleaſant to me as that of *Rome* was to *Nero*, when he took his Harp in hand and triumph'd over its Flames, if it were not that I am liable to the Suſpicion of favouring it, becauſe my Brother and my Guards are ſo fooliſh and imprudent as to reſcue thoſe who are taken in the Fact; and that ſome Catholicks, who are not fit to

be intrusted with Secrets, have talk'd too openly of the Design a great while before it was put in Execution. However, this is a good Expedient to clear both the City and the Air about it, from all manner of contagious Infection: for that I could not set any Bounds unto, but this I can limit; That was the Hand of God, This the Hand of Man; That did promiscuously cut off my Friends and Foes, but This I can order so as to make it fall upon the latter: and after all, if I cannot, as *Nero* did with the Christians, fasten the Plot of firing the City upon the Dissenters, which the Jesuits have strenuously endeavoured, by tricking some silly Fifth-Monarchy-men into a Plot; yet if I give it only a little finer turn, and alledg, that it's the Vengeance of Heaven upon this City, for their being so instrumental in the late Ruine both of Church and State, and not preventing my Father's Murder, the Pretext will be plausible and taking with the Church; for their great Patrons, such as *Heylin* and others, have oftentimes declared their Dislike of the Bulk and Populousness of the City, and hate it because inclinable to the Puritanical Side: so that these things being prudently insisted upon, and the Clergy's Dislike of the City encouraged, its Desolation and Ruines will be the less regarded, and the Odium wear off from

the Papists by degrees, though at the same time they have wisely destroyed that which was look'd upon as the great Bulwark of the Protestant Religion. And I have also reason to be very well satisfied that hereby they have exhausted the great Treasure of Rebellion. But the main Danger is, lest the Committee of Parliament, appointed to dive into the Causes of the Fire, should trace it as far as St. *James*'s and *Whitehall*, and then it will lie upon me and my Brother: but if this should be the case, I know of a Remedy, *viz.* to call it a Forgery of the Dissenters, to bring a Calumny upon the Royal Family, and the Church of *England*, who are their Adherents; then to be sure, though the Matter be as clear as Sunshine, the Bishops and their Clergy, who know they must stand and fall with me, will maintain my Credit for their own Interest, lest they should be utterly overthrown, as in my Father's time. And the better to cover my Design, I must renew all my former Protestations of Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and advise the Citizens, in the first place, to rebuild their Churches, where they may worship God, and mourn for their Sins, which have brought on such desolating Judgments; and this, together with contributing something towards the Re-edification of the City, and bewailing their Losses on all publick

lick Occaſions, will conciliate their Reſpect, and beget a good Opinion of me, which will be ſufficient to obviate all the Miſrepreſentations which the greateſt of my Enemies can make of me: and thus ſhall the Proteſtant Intereſt languiſh, as by a Conſumption in the Vitals, while I ſmite it ſecretly under the fifth Rib. I know that the cenſorious Phanaticks will ſay that this Fire was carried on by the ſame Hand that manages the War againſt the Dutch; and that the City is juſtly puniſh'd thereby for not oppoſing, but rather concurring with me; and that I have repaid them as I have done all my other Friends, the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the Engliſh and Scots Presbyterians: ſo that for their aſſiſting me with their Treaſure to carry on the War againſt the Dutch, I and my Party have conſumed their Subſtance. But having taken care to have that Faction look'd upon as my Enemies, whatever they ſay againſt me will be reckoned Spite; and therefore though it be true, it won't be much credited. And for any Improvement which the Dutch may make of it, as that I am puniſh'd by Fire in my own Capital City, for endeavouring to bring Fire and Sword upon them; I can eaſily hear them, and laugh at their Folly, for aſcribing that to Providence which is my own Action, and looking upon that as my Puniſhment

which I esteem my Advantage; and so far from being their Gain, that it is their irreparable Loss, for the Puritanical Citizens were their true Friends. It's indeed no small Cause of Triumph to the Roman Catholicks, that instead of the Fall of *Babylon*, as the Heretick call *Rome*, which they expected in 1666. the greatest City of the Reformation should lie in Ashes, with 89 of their Churches which were polluted with Heresy; 13200 of their Houses; 150000 *l*'s Worth of their Books; and in the whole to the Value of betwixt nine and ten Millions of their Goods; so that for once the Catholicks have put the Writ, *de Heretico comburendo*, very effectually in execution upon their Houses, the Fire or Plague of God having not long before consum'd above a Million of their Persons. And if there be any such thing as a Deity, the Catholicks might very well say now, as in their Letter to my Lord *Mounteagle*, which discovered the Powder-plot in my Grandfather's time, that God and Man had agreed to punish this Heretical Generation.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XLI.

*On the Parliament's meeting at* Weſtminſter *after the Fire. His Majeſty's Demand of more Money. Their Addreſs againſt Papiſts. His Majeſty's Proclamation on that Head. The Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters. Declaration of War againſt* Denmark. *The Inſurrection in* Scotland *in* 1666. *The burning of his Majeſty's Ships at* Chattam *by the Dutch, &c.*

THough the Catholicks have not been able to blow up the Houſes of Parliament, with all the Lords and Commons, yet they have conſum'd the City, which was both the Fountain of the Hereticks Treaſure and Strength. And to diſable the Party further, I have conveen'd the Parliament, who, I doubt not, will dive to the bottom of their Purſes, and ſupply me with Money to ruine their Brethren the Heretical Dutch.

Though the Parliament hath been liberal enough in parting with their Money, yet I find they are alarm'd at the Increaſe and Growth of Popery; and accordingly have importun'd me with an Addreſs. It is not time for me yet to pull off my Vizard, and

therefore I muſt grant a Proclamation to pleaſe them; but the Prieſts and Jeſuits ſhall ſtill have Protection, as Attendants belonging to my Conſort the Queen.

Their Brethren the Diſſenters ſhall pay for this Animoſity of theirs againſt the Papiſts; and I will take care that the Laws ſhall be put in execution againſt them. Let them remind me of my Declaration from *Breda*, promiſing Eaſe to tender Conſciences, as much as they pleaſe, I am at liberty to change my Meaſures according to my Intereſt. The Presbyterians of *Scotland* have been condignly puniſh'd by Fines, Free-quarter, and Military Execution, which hath happily procur'd an Inſurrection according to my Deſire. So that now the greateſt of my Rigour will be juſtified; and when they pretend to be Sufferers for Religion, I can accuſe them of Rebellion. This furniſhes me with a juſtifiable Pretence to cut off ſome of their Ringleaders at preſent, and endeavour the Extirpation of the reſt by degrees. And this I am ſure to have approved by the Church of *England*, becauſe the Presbyterians obliged themſelves to the Extirpation of Prelacy by their Covenant. This will alſo ſerve to heighten the Reſentments of the Epiſcopal Party againſt the Dutch, when I repreſent how the Phanaticks act in concert with them, and do manifeſtly

nifestly favour their Designs, by beginning an inteſtine War when I am engaged with them abroad. Whence they will eaſily be perſwaded of the neceſſity of complying with my Meaſures againſt both, eſpecially when I inſinuate the Danger that there is to the Church and the Crown, if the Diſſenters ſhould not be rendred uncapable of diſturbing either. When I once inſpire them with theſe Sentiments, they will the better concur with my Declaration againſt *Denmark*, for ſiding with the Rebellious and Heretical Dutch; and by this Means my Brother of *France* and I ſhall reach a fatal Blow indeed to the Northern Hereſy, by the Concurrence of the Hereticks themſelves: for as my Church of *England* Subjects will certainly aſſiſt me on the Conſiderations above-mentioned, ſo the French Hugonots concur with their Monarch to deſtroy thoſe of their own Religion, they being alſo ſcrued up to a high pitch of Loyalty, by the Cunning of the Court, and the Management of their Clergy. And thus when we have deprived our Heretical Subjects of all Support from abroad, it will be the eaſier for us to deſtroy them at home.

How unhappily are all my fine Projects blaſted, and my Deſigns againſt the Dutch not only miſcarried, but they have put theirs

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in execution againſt me, burnt my Roy-al Navy in my own Harbours, and ride without Controul upon my Coaſts. This is indeed an intolerable Diſgrace, but I muſt ſtudy how to repair it. The Want of Money were a plauſible Excuſe, but conſidering the Tax which I lately had, it will not be practicable, and therefore I muſt indeavour to excuſe it, by charging it on the Treachery of the Dutch during the time of a Treaty; which, though it is not likely to obtain Belief amongſt knowing Men, yet it will do much to put a ſtop to the Murmurs of the Vulgar: and in the mean time I muſt ſtudy how to work a Revenge, and not ſuffer them long to triumph in their Succeſs. I perceive the French King takes advantage of my Circumſtances, and hath deluded me on purpoſe to carry on his own Deſigns, by giving out that the Dutch would have no Fleet at Sea this Summer. Let him hug and bleſs himſelf for his good Succeſs, I may find an Opportunity to make him repent it: May he flatter himſelf as a great Politician, and fram'd by Nature for the Empire of the World, I can ſooner accompliſh my Deſigns than he can do his, and ſatisfy my Deſires with thoſe things which I look upon as my *Summum Bonum*: Whereas he can never ſatisfy his Ambition; and as he makes me to ſubſerve his

Deſigns, his Money ſhall alſo ſubſerve mine; and while he pleaſes himſelf with the Thoughts of conquering *Europe*, I will indulge my ſelf in ſuch Conqueſts as are more agreeable to my Nature, though at the ſame time I am reſolved to give a check to his growing Greatneſs, by clapping up a Peace with the Dutch and Danes: and thus I ſhall revenge my ſelf on him for dealing ſo diſhonourably with me, as to ſuffer it to be printed at *Paris*, that my Deſign againſt *Holland* was for advancing Popery.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XLII.

*On the murmuring of the People at the Conſumption of the Treaſure. His Majeſty's granting leave to the Parliament's Commiſſioners to take the Publick Accounts. His raiſing an Army of* 30000 *Men, and diſbanding them. On the Parliament's being diſpleaſed with it. The Seſſions of Parliament in* July, October, *and* February, 1667. *His Majeſty's Speeches to them: Proclamation againſt Papiſts: Diſplacing of Chancellor* Hide, *and League with the Dutch*, &c.

IT's not without reaſon that the King of *England* is by Foreigners call'd, *Rex Diabolorum*; for my Subjects are truly headſtrong, and ill to govern. What mutinous Murmurs do ſound in my Ears daily, and grievous Complaints of exhauſting their Treaſure, when in the mean time the Nation is neither well govern'd at home, nor ſecure againſt the diſgraceful Inſults of our Enemies abroad? The Seeds of the old Rebellion begin to ſpring again, ſo hard a Matter it is to cure this Nation of the Diſtemper: However in Policy I am obliged to humour them a little; and to pleaſe them will offer to give the

the Parliament an Account which way the Money that they gave me hath been ſpent. I know that their Commiſſioners will ſcarcely be Proof againſt Gold; ſo that I can eaſily take them off if they become too inquiſitive. This yielding a little will give me an Opportunity to renew my Blow with the greater Force. And from their Complaints of the Nation's not being ſecur'd againſt Foreign Inſults, I ſhall take the Opportunity to raiſe an Army in the Interval of Parliament, but model them ſo as to render them fit for my Deſign, if poſſible, both of raiſing Money without Parliaments, and advancing the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome*. If I cannot have all the Officers avowed Papiſts, I ſhall at leaſt order it ſo that they be not Haters of the Church of *Rome*; for none ſhall be promoted without Father *Patrick*'s Approbation. To encamp them near the City will be moſt commodious, that ſo they may overawe both it and the Parliament.

But, alas! I find that my Deſign is perceiv'd; and the Commons being met, are reſolv'd to defeat it. My Aim was glorious indeed, but my Succeſs unanſwerable; ſo that Nature ſeems to have deſign'd me for the Conqueſt of Women, but not of Men. A Prince who has not the Command of his Subjects Purſes, can never ſay that he has the Com-

Command of their Perſons; for I muſt comply with the Parliament, becauſe I want Money, or otherwiſe I am ſure they'l give me none. The Army that I rais'd muſt again be disbanded; elſe they'l never be ſatisfied, nor have their Jealouſies removed; ſo that I find I muſt take another Method. If the Catholicks grumble at the Slowneſs of my Progreſs, they may remember that the Work in hand is Church-work. I am reſolv'd never to ſacrifice my own Quiet to any Party or Profeſſion of Religion; but now that I have reobtain'd my Throne, will labour to keep it, having already experienc'd the Miſery of being reduc'd to Travel. They may be alſo convinc'd from my Failure in this Attempt, that I want not Will but Power to ſerve them; and that to hurry on the Deſign by Force is the way to ruine both them and me. It's true, that's a very great Mortification to a Soveraign, to receive a Check from thoſe who ought to obey him; but whatever it hath had upon others, it ſhall have no great Influence upon me, who am reſolv'd to purſue Eaſe and Pleaſure as my chief Good.

But the Parliament having taken the Alarm, I muſt ſweeten them by ſoft Speeches; which with the Aſſiſtance of my Friends in the Houſe, will take off their Edg. I will tell them that they ſhall follow their own

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Methods in bringing those who have received the Publick Money to an account; and that their Grievances shall be redressed. I know that the disbanding of the Forces on their Desire, the displacing of my Lord Chancellor *Hide*, and dismissing of Papists from my Guards, will be acceptable to them. And to please them yet further, I will publish a Proclamation against Papists; and that none shall frequent the Popish Chappels of *Somerset-house*, St. *James*'s, or Foreign Ambassadors, but those who belong to my Mother, the Queen Consort, and the Ambassador's own Families, though at the same time I shall take care that they suffer no Damage for contraveening it. And to pluck up their Jealousies by the very Roots, that I may give them the more surprizing Blow, I will make a defensive Alliance with the Dutch and Swedes, which will remove all their Fears, as to the head of Religion: And another for an effectual Mediation of Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*, which will look with a favourable Aspect towards their Civil Rights: but in the mean time I shall connive at the Progress of the French Arms in the *Spanish Netherlands*, the better to make way for our Designs upon *Holland*.

The Parliament being thus sweetned, I will move for Money to rig out another Fleet, which as soon as I obtain, they shall be adjourned

journed and prorogued, ſo as they may not trouble me with their Importunities to aſſiſt the *Netherlands*; for I know they will be unwilling of the French King's Neighbourhood, though the ſame will be convenient for me to accompliſh my Deſigns: for in that caſe they will be prevail'd upon by their Fear to allow me a ſtanding Army, that I may always be provided againſt ſuch a potent Enemy; and then in a little time I ſhall rule by the Sword, and command their Money to ſpend upon my Pleaſures.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*On the Proclamation againſt Diſſenters in* 1669. *Inviting the Dutch and Swedes into a League with us; propoſing a nearer Alliance with the Dutch, and forcing the Treaty of* Aix La Chappelle *upon the Spaniards and the French.*

IF I cannot ruine the Intereſt of the Hereticks in General, yet I can keep thoſe under who are obnoxious to the Laws which were happily procured during the Height of the Church of *England*'s Zeal and Loyalty. And ſeeing all my other Meaſures fail me, I am reſolv'd to drive the Nail that will go.

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That Phanatical Crew are my greateſt Enemies, and therefore I have reaſon to deal with them as ſuch: Their Rigidity of Principles, and Auſterity of Practice, render them odious to all Men who love their Pleaſures; and they are no leſs hateful to me, becauſe of their Politicks, as having an inveterate Prejudice againſt the Prerogative, and being great Patrons of the Privileges of Parliament; ſo that from thoſe of their Kidney I meet with the greateſt Obſtructions, for which I have ſworn and will take a Revenge: It being moreover my Intereſt to nouriſh mutual Animoſities amongſt my Proteſtant Subjects, and make the two Factions irreconcileable, that ſo I may keep them from uniting againſt me in defence of their Common Religion and Liberties. By this Method I have humbled the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and I doubt not but it will have the ſame effect in *England*.

It's neceſſary however for the concealing of my Deſign, to invite the Dutch and Swedes to a League, who both of them being Proteſtant States, it will poſſeſs the common People, that I have ſtill a Zeal for that Religion; but in reality I ſhall hereby enſnare the Dutch, and render them more liable to the Fury of *France*. My being divided from them by the Sea will furniſh me with Excuſes for delaying to give them Aſſiſtance; or if I

ſend them any Forces, I can prevent their being ſerviceable; make uſe of them, as I find Opportunity, to ſeize ſome of their Towns, or find occaſion of Quarrel, and join the French. However, this Triple League will pleaſe my Parliament: and to impoſe further upon them, I will propound a nearer Alliance with the Dutch, and bring the French and the Spaniards to a Treaty of Peace, which my Subjects will look upon as the ſecuring of themſelves; but at the ſame time I will take care to maintain the French Intereſt, and ſecure them ſome conſiderable Poſts upon the Frontiers, that ſo the Door may be open for a new Invaſion, whenever he ſees his time. However, I muſt not be wanting to have my Conduct in this Point applauded to the height; as alſo my Care for the Honour, Safety and Commerce of my Subjects in this Affair magnified, the better to obtain a Subſidy from the Parliament. The Spaniards I know are diſſatisfied at this Treaty, becauſe it obliges them to a Surrender of a great part of their Country; and the French are not well pleaſed to be ſtopp'd in their Career; but I muſt prefer my own Intereſt to both: It's for my Reputation to be ſucceſsful in ſo weighty an Affair; and it will make me the more valued at home, when they ſee that I have ſo much Influence abroad.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XLIV.

*On the Interview betwixt his Majeſty and his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of* Orleans, *at* Dover; *and her Advice to him to break the Triple League, and concur with the French King to deſtroy the Dutch and the Proteſtant Religion, and render himſelf abſolute in* England. *Her leaving one of her Maids of Honour, created afterwards Dutcheſs of* Portſmouth, *behind her; and her own Death ſpeedily after her Return into* France.

THE Meſſenger is enough to procure Acceptance to the Meſſage; for who can deny the Requeſt of ſuch a beautiful Princeſs, though ſhe were not my Siſter? The Meſſage of it ſelf is very acceptable, though infinitely full of hazardous Intrigue. It will reflect upon my Honour to break that League of which I was in a manner the Author, and invited all the Princes of *Europe* to join in it. It's true, I am pretty well accuſtomed to breaking of Compacts; ſo that this will not be my firſt Eſſay: and though others may not only hate but contemn me for it, yet this Satisfaction I ſhall certainly reap from it, that thereby I outwit ſo many Sove-

reign Princes, whereas hitherto I have only deceived my own Subjects. Though this League be made with more honourable Perſons, yet it was far from being ſo ſolemn as the Scots League and Covenant: ſo that as
7 to what concerns Conſcience, I may as well do the leſs as the greater; and in this I have an Advantage which I wanted in that, as ha-
8 ving *Lewis* the XIV*th* for a Partner in the Crime, if it be one: and it's pretty manifeſt to all that know us, that we never intended
7 to be Slaves to our Word.

To deſtroy the Dutch and the Proteſtant Religion, and render my ſelf abſolute in *England*, are all Glorious Deſigns, but not ſo eaſy to be practis'd as propos'd. For my Concurrence in the firſt I can form plauſible Pretexts enough; and if that were once accompliſh'd, the other will be the more eaſily effected. Great Deſigns ought to be deeply weighed, and therefore I muſt give a cautious Anſwer, but not engage in a poſitive Promiſe; yet ſomething I muſt ſay to pleaſe the Meſſenger, in order to obtain my Deſires of her, which I muſt confeſs Nature ſeems to abhor; but my heightned Paſſion will neither admit any Limits nor Denial. How happy are they in thoſe Parts of the World where they know no ſuch Reſtraints as we who are called Chriſtians do labour under? there their Loves are

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promiſcuous, without Offence, and they have no Reſtraint on the Appetites of Nature, but ſatisfy all its Deſires to the full: Then why ſhould I be ſcrupulous, or filled with Horror, upon ſuch a Motion of the Fleſh as this? It's only the Cuſtom and Tenets which we imbibe, that make ſuch Impreſſions as theſe upon us. If the Nations where promiſcuous Amours are allowed without reſtraint, thought it contrary to the Laws of Nature, or had any Qualms of Conſcience for the Practice, they would never have allowed it; and therefore my Scruples muſt altogether be owing to my Education. The Mahumetans have no Checks of Conſcience for their Polygamy, becauſe their Cuſtoms and Principles allow it. And it was the like with thoſe who were call'd the Saints of the Old Teſtament. Nay, *Lot* enjoy'd his own Daughters; and *Abraham* had his Father's Daughter to Wife. The firſt, it's true, was not the Effect of Choice, but I am certain the latter was; and if all be true that I have heard, as in truth from my own Temper I have no reaſon to doubt of it, there's Cauſe enough to queſtion whether ſhe be not only the Daughter of my Mother, and not of my Father, and in that caſe I am but even with *Abraham*: And as for my violating both my own and the Duke of *Orleance*'s Contracts

of Marriage, I may be allowed to come ſo far ſhort of the Father of the Faithful. Let Puritans and Preciſians do what they pleaſe, for my own part I will worſhip no Deity, except *Priapus* be one; nor do I deſire any other Heaven than *Mahomet*'s Paradiſe. If this ſhould take air, my Phanatical Subjects would improve it againſt me, and ſay, that ſuch unhallowed Cauſes muſt needs have curſed Effects; and that Popery and Slavery can never be uſher'd in by any other Means than ſuch as violate both the Laws of Nature and Religion, and open the Sluce to the Height of Impiety. They would quickly tell me that a Cuſtom of Sinning hardens the Conſcience; and that ſuch promiſcous Amours had no little Influence on the deſtroying Judgments which have from time to time laid ſo many of the Heathen Nations deſolate, and particularly brought the Sword of the cruel Spaniard upon the Americans: That the Failings of the Old-Teſtament-Saints are not to be Patterns for thoſe who live under the New: That *Abraham*'s Wife was not his Father's Daughter, but Grand-Daughter by Law: And that the New Teſtament hath excluded all Whoremongers and Adulterers from the Kingdom of Heaven; with abundance more of ſuch Cant, which influences me to deny that Faction any peaceable Reſidence

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in my Kingdom upon Earth, as being moroſe, the Leaven of all humane Converſation, and an ungrateful Check upon Jollity and Mirth, attributing that to the Effects of Religion and Divine Zeal, which is merely occaſioned by Phlegm and Melancholy.

The bad Influence which ſo near a Neighbour as the flouriſhing Republick of *Holland* may have to animate my Subjects to re-attempt ſuch a Form of Government, will juſtify my Policy in ſeeking its Deſtruction. And the Roman Maxim of *Carthago eſt delenda*, and deſtroying of thoſe who ſtudy to rival us in our Trade and Naval Strength, will be taking with the Engliſh Nation: and my Concern in deſtroying their Religion will be covered, by having the French King for my Ally, who is a Roman Catholick by Profeſſion; ſo that that Affair will be wholly aſcrib'd to him. As to the Propoſal of ruining the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, and rendring my ſelf abſolute, the Reaſons of the Attempt are much eaſier than the Means; ſome of which are alſo not ill concerted, as flattering the Church of *England*, and engaging them in a ſevere Perſecution of the Diſſenters, who are indeed the firmeſt Proteſtants. Then as for the rendring of my ſelf abſolute, the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience hath already pav'd my way toward it,

amongſt thoſe of the Church of *England*: And on the other hand I can trick the Diſſenters into a Concurrence with it, by diſpenſing with the Penal Laws, under which they ſmart ſo ſeverely; ſo that they will contribute to heighten this part of my Prerogative for their own eaſe: and if once I can ſecure my ſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of this Practice of diſpenſing with Laws, the reſt of my Work will be the more eaſy, eſpecially if once the Dutch were ruined, and their Countries and beſt Towns ſhared betwixt the French and me; for in that caſe my Heretical Subjects can neither have Aſſiſtance from thence, nor Recourſe thither. And as for *Scotland*, the Epiſcopal Party there having no other Intereſt but mine; and being wholly deſtitute of the Peoples Favour, I am in no danger of any Diſturbance from that Kingdom, now that I have brought the Presbyterians in that Country ſo low: And that which will be no little ſerviceable to my Affairs, is, that the Parliament of *Scotland* have made an Act to raiſe me 22000 Horſe and Foot to ſerve in any part of my Dominions, ſuch cordial Friends are their Epiſcopal Party to the Intereſt of the Crown.

My Siſter has not only granted me her laſt Favours, but left me a very agreeable Preſent to nouriſh my Flames. My Brother of *France* has

has hit the Mark, and if he continues both to fill my Purſe, and ſatisfy my Love, as my Occaſions require, he ſhall find me a very uſeful Friend.

But, alas! my Pleaſures are always mix'd with an Alloy of Mortification: My Siſter's Kindneſs to me hath been her Death. It might have been thought that the Height of our Rank ſhould have ſet us above the reach of Spies; and that the Nearneſs of our Relation ſhould have taken away all Cauſe of Suſpicion, that the Danger of divulging the Secret ſhould have lock'd it up in eternal Silence; or if it had been otherwiſe, that it ſhould not ſo readily have obtain'd Belief: but I am now convinc'd of the contrary by the diſmal Effects; and yet I muſt be content, and lay aſide all Thoughts of Revenge, leſt the thing ſhould be laid open to the View of the World. I muſt henceforth take care to obſerve the Maxim of living *cautè*, ſeeing I cannot live *caſtè*: and though my open Practice has declared that I am not to be bounded by the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Country, as to my Love-Intrigues; yet I muſt be cautious how I intrench on the Laws of Nature, becauſe of the general Abhorrence thereof which is impreſs'd upon all Men. I muſt alſo take care that I be not thought to debaſe my ſelf by the Meanneſs of my Courtſhips,

ſhips, and therefore will at leaſt dignify my new French Paramour with the Title of a Dutcheſs.

It's a great while ſince I abſolv'd my ſelf from the Trouble of making any Prayer to that Bugbear which Princes and Clergymen would impoſe upon the World, under the Notion of a Deity, merely to render the People Slaves to themſelves: And the principal Reaſon for eaſing my ſelf of this Trouble was, becauſe I perceived that all things happened alike to thoſe who are called Good, and thoſe who are called Bad. But if there are any Beings ſuperiour to Men, I think that the Notion of the ancient Heathens, who were for a Plurality of Gods, has very much Reaſon in it; and the Roman Catholick Church ſeems to own the ſame thing, though under a different Name, when they have ſo many Saints and Angels to whom they addreſs themſelves, according to the Diverſity of their Occaſions, which does neceſſarily imply, that they believe a Plurality of Omnipotent and Omniſcient Beings. Then ſeeing the Caſe is thus, it cannot be amiſs for me, that, in imitation of their Example, I betake my ſelf to Patrons ſutable to my preſent Neceſſities: And it being *Priapus* and *Venus* whoſe Aſſiſtance I do moſt ſtand in need of, it's reaſonable that I ſhould make Application

to

to them both conjunctly, but chiefly to the first. Nor can I see why it should be culpable in me to make Requests to them in my Prosperity, seeing my Father is said to have made use of a Prayer taken from an amorous Romance, in the Height of his Adversity, though it had been consecrated before-hand to an Heathen Deity. And whereas he whom Christians look upon as the Omnipotent, hath commanded us in his Word to *increase* and *multiply*, without any manner of Restriction, it ought not to be offensive to them if I obey him in this Particular.

*But thou, O* Priapus! *seeing the Female Deity* Venus *hath cast a favourable Aspect towards me, as Monarch of the Britains, who are the lineal Descendants of her beloved Trojans, insomuch that the fair Sex have hitherto received my Addresses very kindly, as becomes those who would be obsequious to that beautiful Goddess; be not thou less propitious to me than she, but assist me to the utmost of thy Power, that I may be capable of a grateful Retribution to the fair Nymphs who bless me with their Favours. I have a stubborn and rebellious People, who are more addicted to War than Love; but do thou inspire them with amorous Inclinations, and wound them with the Darts of* Cupid, *that they may grow out of Conceit with those of* Mars.

*They*

They are fond of Parliaments, because created by themselves; but if thou wilt be pleased to vouchsafe me thy Favour, I may govern them in time by a Parliament begotten by my self. My Sons shall quickly over-ballance the Lords, and their Interests and wine will have no little Influence upon the Commons, amongst whom I can also bestow some of my Daughters. Then shall I erect Altars to the God of Love, and make his Conquests as large as my Dominions. Let those who call themselves Christians admire their own Chastity, and boast of their Temperance as loud as they can, I don't find but their Patron was very favourable to the Adultress; and Nicholas, one of the first of their Sect, maintain'd a Community of Wives. Do thou assist me, and I doubt not but to make thy Religion triumph over theirs; for I am sure that the Number of those who are led by the Flesh, is greater than the Number of them that are led by the Spirit. Nor is it from me alone that thou art to expect Returns of Thanks, but from Venus her self, and her beautiful Train, and particularly those Ladies who have now devoted themselves to my Service.

To Hymen I have twice perform'd solemn Adoration, but to thee I vow perpetual Worship, and will extend my Amours as far as my Prerogative. Do not thou, O Goddess of Beauty! withdraw thy Kindness; but as thou hast favoured

*voured my Conquests hitherto, be pleased to enlarge them, that I may become Father of my Country in Deed as well as in Name. I have sometimes been apt to blame the Phanaticks for their long Prayers, but if they be as intent on the obtaining of their Desires, as I am for the obtaining of mine, I find there's no great Reason for it. I am sure that this is the longest Prayer that ever I made in my Life; and accordingly as I find your Answers I shall proportion my Praises, and repay my Thank-offerings on the Altars of* Bacchus; *you being the only Trinity whom I adore, and the* Eleusina Sacra, *my beloved Worship.*

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## CHAP. XLV.

*On Colonel* Blood's *Attempt to steal the Crown. A Proclamation against Papists to please the Parliament. The second War with the Dutch. The shutting up of the Exchequer. The falling upon the Dutch* Smyrna *Fleet before War was declared; and the Declaration of War thereupon.*

THis is a very bold and daring Attempt, and such as may excite Wonder sooner than Belief. If there be many such daring Spirits among the Phanaticks, it is not Policy

to

to provoke them too much, leſt ſome attempt my Life, as others have done the Crown. However, ſeeing the Deſign hath miſcarried, it's fit that I ſhould improve it, which may be done ſeveral ways: It will ſerve as an Argument to heighten my Reſentments againſt the Diſſenters, and juſtify my dealing ſeverely with them. It will alſo ſerve for a Subject of Clamour againſt them to thoſe of the Church of *England*, and animate them to proſecute the Puritans to the utmoſt; and at the ſame time countenance my Pretences of a neceſſity to diſpenſe with the Laws againſt them, while I am engaged with a foreign Enemy, leſt they ſhould be provok'd to attempt ſomething more dangerous, though nothing can be more diſgraceful than this would have been, had it ſucceeded.

The better to cover the Treaty at *Dover*, and to prevent the Suſpicion of my Siſter's having engag'd me to do any thing in favour of the Catholicks, I muſt emit a Proclamation againſt them as uſual; and though I never intend to put it in execution, the Neglect will be eaſily faſtned upon the inferiour Magiſtrates. I cannot but wonder at this repeated Zeal of the Parliament againſt the Growth of Popery, when at the ſame time they are ſo zealous for a Popiſh Form of Church-Government and Ceremonies, and con-

concur to make ſuch ſevere Laws againſt their Brethren the Diſſenters. This muſt proceed from ſome Political but not Religious Conſiderations. They are without doubt unwilling to part with their Church-Lands, to have the old Tax of *Peter*-Pence renewed, and be obliged to ſubmit their Necks to the Pope's Uſurpation. Theſe, I don't queſtion, are the Grievances of the Laity; and the Loſs of their Benefices and Wives have no leſs Influence upon the Clergy. Nor indeed is this particular Averſion to Popery to be very much wondred at in the Church of *England*, ſeeing Popery in all its Pretenſions is not admitted by the Church of *France*, which has no good liking to the Pope's Supremacy, nor did ever admit the Council of *Trent*.

As to the War with the Dutch, I muſt urge all the Arguments to have it effectuated; which my own Invention, and thoſe of the Cabal, are able to furniſh. Their Encroachments on Trade being that which will be moſt plauſible with the Populace, the ſeveral Companies muſt be influenc'd to make Complaints on that Head againſt them; or if they won't, yet I can aſſert it boldly in my Declaration. It's true that the Phanatical Part of my Subjects perceive my Deſign, and mutter it where they dare do it with Safety; but a Royal Declaration will be ſufficient to

weigh

weigh down the Clamours of such: And though they complain of the Injuries done to my Subjects in the Foreign Plantations by the French, yet all these must be buried in Oblivion; so that I shall order such Complaints to be received, but the Grievances shall never be redressed. I must also represent the Dishonour done to the Nation, by the Dutch's refusing to strike to the English Flag; and the Affronts put upon my self by scandalous Medals and Pictures, which my Petitioners and Friends in the House of Commons will take care to aggravate to the Height. It will be a meritorious piece of Service at this time to find occasion of Quarrel with the Dutch, now when they are out in pursuance of the Triple League, to prevent the Progress of the French in the *Netherlands*. It is not to be supposed that they will be guilty of such a manifest Breach, as to refuse to strike to my Fleet, or any of my Men of War in my own Seas, and therefore I will order a small Yatch to sail through their Navy on their own Coast; and upon their not striking, as in such a case they will scarcely think themselves oblig'd to do, I shall have Ground enough to found a Quarrel.

My next Care must be to prevent the Dutch's coming to a Treaty, or offering Satisfaction, and to declare War when they come

come near a Concluſion, that ſo the French may have Opportunity of over-running their Country; and they and I ſhall divide the Spoil. But this being a Deſign of great Importance, I muſt take care to keep it ſecret; and therefore it's fit that I ſhould put out of the Council all thoſe that are unaffected to the Intrigue, on the pretence of its being contrary to the Intereſt of *England* and the Proteſtant Religion.

A War with the Dutch being reſolved on, my next Care muſt be to provide Money, which are its Sinews. The purſuit of my Pleaſures, which are the chiefeſt Good that my Soul deſires, have drain'd my Treaſury, ſo that I muſt think of ſome Method to fill it again. My Subjects are averſe to this War againſt their Fellow-Proteſtants, and will not eaſily be brought to contribute for carrying it on; but having decoyed abundance of the wealthieſt of them to bring their Money into the Exchequer, upon hopes of great Gain, I am reſolv'd to ſhut it up, and apply the Money found there to the Uſe of the War. This will be an effectual Means to drain the Purſes of my Heretical Subjects; and if they murmur, I ſhall make uſe of their own Money to chaſtiſe them: but I am in no hazard of a Rebellion upon this account, for although the Loſs will affect the whole Nation, it

immediately it reaches only to few: None put in Money into the Exchequer but those who have enough left behind; and for such, they'l be loth to hazard the Loss of the rest by any Tumult or Sedition, especially when Passive Obedience is preach'd to them daily from the Pulpits, that their Lives and Fortunes ought all to be at the Service of their Prince, who has Power to make use of them as he thinks fit, according to the several Exigencies of State. This being one certain Method of procuring Money to carry on the War at the Charge of my Heretical Subjects, I have another in view, to make the Dutch contribute toward it themselves, and that is by seizing their *Smyrna* Fleet before War be declared. This, it's true, will look ill, but the Catholick Maxim, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, absolves me from all Guilt: and if I be successful in the War, as I have very great Reason to hope, then I can justify the Action by the Event, as I did formerly when I fell upon their Fleet before *Cadiz*; and yet I have weather'd out all the Storms of Reproach which were impending over me upon that Account.

To blind my Subjects still further, I must pretend that nothing but unavoidable Necessity could have prevail'd with me to have shut up the Exchequer; but that the Welfare and

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Advantage of particular Persons must always give way to that of the Publick; that it's better to seize the Money of a few, to make use of it in Defence of the whole, than suffer Foreigners to invade us, and hazard our All; that seeing all my Neighbours are preparing for War, it's not fit that I should lay my self open to Surprize; and my Treasure being spent, and my Revenues anticipated, it's but reasonable that I should take the first Money that comes to hand, for defence of the Publick. Then as to my attacking the Dutch, I must justify it by charging them with Ingratitude to this Nation, notwithstanding of the many Favours conferred upon them by my self and Predecessors: and I am sure of having the Clergy on my side, because of the Hatred which they have against the Dutch, both upon the account of their Government in Church and State; and they, together with the Court-Party, will raise a Clamour sufficient to drown the Murmurs of the Phanaticks, whom I have also endeavoured to take off by dispensing with the Laws which are in being against them.

## CHAP. XLVI.

*On the Dutch's surprizing our Fleet in Southwold-bay, the Duke of York being Admiral. His Majesty's Declaration to the Dutch. The Progress of the French in the United Provinces. His Majesty's and the French King's Proposals to the Dutch, and their rejecting them, and making the Prince of Orange Stadtholder.*

THE Dutch by their Diligence have ballanced my Dissimulation, and surprized me instead of my surprizing of them. This is a remarkable Disgrace to my Brother and me, and will strengthen the former Reflections that have been made on our Conduct, confirm the World in the belief of the Unsuccessfulness of our Arms, and make my Subjects curse our Amours, as the fatal Causes of all their Ruine. It's true that his Carriage in this Affair is highly to be blamed, that he should be so intent on the satisfying of his Passion for a Woman, when his chief Passion ought to have been the acquiring of immortal Honour for me and himself, by executing Vengeance on the Heretical Dutch: But why should I upbraid him with it, seeing this Tem-

Temper is hereditary to him and me both? I must excuse it to the People as the Fortune of War; and in the mean time comfort my self with the Success of my Allies the French, who have well nigh over-run them by Land, though they have had the better of me by Sea; and that Element does now triumph over their Country, upon which they so lately triumph'd over me, they being under a necessity of drowning their Territories, as having no other way to save them from their Enemies.

That I may the better accomplish my Designs upon them, I must take care, if possible, to divide them, and for that end will publish a Declaration, inviting such of them as are either well affected to me, or weary of the Oppression which they groan under at home, to come hither, with their Effects and Ships, to *England*, where they shall enjoy the Priviledges of my natural Subjects: And as this will create a Jealousy amongst themselves, and occasion a general and mutual Distrust, so it will in some measure take off the bad Opinion which my Subjects may have conceiv'd of me for engaging in this War against their Protestant Neighbours. And to prevent the Fanatical Murmurs which have a tendency that way, I will issue a Proclamation, forbidding all publick Discourse amongst

the People on that Subject. And to confum-
mate their Ruine, I'll ſend over new Pleni-
potentiaries to the States, under a pretence of
concerting Meaſures to ſtop the Progreſs of
the French Conqueſts, but really to aſſure
them in what they have got, and to prevent
their depriving me of my due ſhare, leſt
*Lewis* XIV treat me as *Æſop*'s Lion treated
his Fellow-Hunters, who would be ſatisfied
with no leſs Dividend than the whole. By
this Means I ſhall ſtill bring ſome of the
weaker ſort to have a good Opinion of me;
and in the mean time ſhall have the Opportu-
nity to attempt the bringing off of the Prince
of *Orange* from the States, by putting him in
hopes of enjoying the Soveraignty, while my
Plenipotentiaries ſhall have Inſtructions to
take care that my Intereſt be aſſured with the
French King; and then when both of us in-
ſiſt upon high Terms, the Dutch muſt either
ſubmit or be undone.

Though Plots be well laid, they don't al-
ways hold, for the Dutch continue refracto-
ry, let us do what we can. I thought that
my Intereſt and Authority might have pre-
vail'd with my young Nephew the Prince
of *Orange*, eſpecially when tempted with the
Proffer of Soveraignty; but I find he is Proof
againſt all ſuch Allurements: the Blood of
the Family of *Naſſau* has got the Aſcendant

in him; so that I am afraid there's not a sufficient Alloy of mine: I doubt that the Consequence will prove, that my Mother's Present of her eldest Daughter, instead of being serviceable to her Design, will utterly ruine it; for that Family seems to be destin'd for the Bane of unlimited Prerogative, and they have for a long time been the invincible Champions of the Northern Heresy. I do also foresee an impending Storm from the House of *Austria*, upon me and *France*, as if the Fates had resolv'd to turn the World upside down, and make that Family which did propagate the Catholick Religion with so much Zeal a Bulwark now for the Defence of Heresy. It's strange that the Emperor, after he had intimation that the Design of this War was to root out Heresy from the Western World, should yet oppose me and my Brother of *France*: but let the greatest of the Bigots pretend what they will, I find that their Interest is their chief Religion, and that confirms me in the Opinion that the whole of Religion is a Cheat.

However, I resolve to go on with my Proposals, and back my Brother the French King in his Demands of a full Liberty to the Roman Catholicks, not only to profess their Religion openly, but also to enjoy the Publick Churches. And that this may be the

better effected, I must stand by him still he have the best of the Towns which he hath taken from the Dutch ascertained to him, and a yearly Gratuity, the Payment of which may reduce them to Poverty. For my own part, I resolve to insist upon having the Flag, and that they shall strike to me on their own Coasts, that so I may assure my self of the Dominion of the Seas; and some of their best Towns I will demand for Security, that they shall faithfully perform their Contracts with me, to pay me a Million for by-past Damages, and 100000 *l. per annum* for their fishing on my Coasts. By this Means I doubt not but a fatal Blow may be given to those Heretical Republicans, and the Family of *Orange* quite destroy'd, to the great Satisfaction of all good Catholicks, to whom they have been irreconcileable Enemies: and I can easily wipe off the Odium, by charging the Prince with Ingratitude for the Royal Favours bestowed on him by my Family.

But I find that the stubborn Dutch are neither to be frightned nor flattered, now that they have declared the Prince of *Orange* their Stadtholder. Nor could they give a greater Instance of their bidding Defiance to *France*, than by massacring the *De Witts*, who were thought to be its Pensioners. There's no doubt but that they will look upon themselves

selves as betrayed by me, when I sent over Plenipotentiaries on pretence to favour them; and that yet I should enter into a new Alliance with *France* against them: and they will exclaim against my Unkindness to my Kinsman the Prince of *Orange*; but they may remember that the French Massacre was carried on under pretence of an Alliance with the head of the Protestants; and that it can be no Crime for so near Descendants of the Royal Family of *France*, as I and my Mother, to follow so great an Example of our Predecessors. The matching of my Sister with the Family of *Orange*, was design'd as a Kindness to our selves, and not to them: So that if they do not answer our Design on their part, it's but reasonable that there should be a Breach on ours: And seeing the Dutch by their Example and Incouragement bid defiance to my Arms in so contemptuous a manner, it's but reasonable that I should chastise them for their Insolence, and not sit down patiently under such a Diminution of my Glory; and I doubt not but my Brother of *France* and I shall find Means to stir up the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Munster*, who are Neighbours to the Dutch, and consequently the greatest Harers of them, both because of their Form of Government and Heresy, to take part with us against the House of *Austria*.

*syria.* And to prevent the Protestants Belief that the chief Design is against their Religion, we shall influence the Duke of *Hanover*, by our Gold, to join with us; and he being a Protestant, it will make our Design the less perceptible.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*On his Majesty's suffering the Parliament to meet* Novemb. 1673. *His Speech to them concerning the Indulgence and the Dispensing Power, and the Necessity of raising more Forces for carrying on the Dutch War. Several unsuccessful Fights with the Hollanders. The Letter from the Dutch to influence the Parliament, who addressed against the Match betwixt the Duke of* York *and Dutchess of* Modena. *The Prorogation which ensued thereupon. A Proclamation against Papists, and the Consummation of the Marriage.*

HOW uncomfortable is it for a Monarch to be limited, and not to have the Purses of his Subjects at command? for him to be obliged to use Intreaties to his People, who ought to receive his Dictates without Controul? But Necessity has no Law, the Constitution of this Government being such, that

that Engliſh Kings are but a ſort of Royal Beggars. I muſt try if my Parliament will let me have Money now that I am diſappointed as to my Hopes of ſeizing the Dutch *Smyrna* and *Spaniſh* Plate Fleets; and that my Supplies from *France* come but ſlowly in. I know that they are jealous of their Privileges, have an envious Eye at my Prerogative, and are particularly ſtartled at the Diſpenſing Power, therefore I muſt ſweeten them by my Speech, and indeavour to poſſeſs them with an Opinion that my Deſign therein was only to ſecure my ſelf from Tumults and Inſurrections at home, while I was engaged in a War abroad, which cannot be thought an unreaſonable Fear by any thinking Man, conſidering the Troubles which the Puritanical Party gave to my Father. And as to their Objection, that more Favour has been ſhewn to Papiſts than Diſſenters, I can eaſily anſwer it, that the latter are abundantly more Loyal than the former, and have been faſt Friends both to my Father and my ſelf; and yet they were only allowed their Worſhip in private, whereas the other Party had theirs in publick: but as for diſpenſing with the Executive Part of the Law, I am reſolv'd to hold it as long as I can. Their Fears that I ſhall make uſe of the Forces which I raiſe to ſubvert their Liberty and

Pro-

Property, I must endeavour to dispel by fair Promises, and the Interest of my Clergy and Pensioners; and at the same time possess them with a Necessity of my raising more Forces for the Honour and Defence of the Nation, that we may not be insulted over by the ungrateful Dutch, whom my Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth* did raise from the Dust. I have cull'd out the Earl of *Shaftsbury* for Lord Chancellor, who may do me very great Service, because a Popular Man; so that I shall make use of his Influence and Eloquence both to palliate my having shut up the Exchequer, and to demonstrate the Necessity of a War with the Dutch, and at the same time of granting an Indulgence to the Papists.

I perceive that the bad Influences of my Stars are not yet exhausted; for though I lay my Designs with all imaginable Policy, they do often miscarry. Who would have thought that so many fair Promises, back'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Eloquence, and the Interest and Influence of my Pensioners, should have miscarried in Parliament? and yet, to my great Regret, I do find that it has; so that nothing will serve but a renouncing of my Dispensing Power, and fresh Assurances, that never any thing of that Nature shall be attempted again; which, rather than want Money, I am resolv'd to comply with:

for

for if I could but once get a Standing Army on foot, I should soon be able to retrieve it. And in the mean time I shall take care to have all this Clamour against the Dispensing Power and Standing Army imputed to the Jealousies and envious Surmises of the Phanaticks and Republicans. And from this Obligation laid upon me to recal my Act of Indulgence, I shall at least reap this Advantage, that it will heighten the Animosities betwixt the Dissenters and Church-men; for I can easily bring it about to have the Refusal of it wholly imputed to the latter. And though I have no reason to be well satisfy'd at the Check which is hereby put upon my Prerogative, yet it hath thus much of a Cordial in it, that I perceive the Episcopal Party wholly irreconcileable to the Presbyterians, which at some time or other will very much forward my grand Design; and at present it has had so much Influence as to procure me a considerable Sum, though, to avoid the Reproaches of the Phanatical Party, the Parliament won't own that it is for carrying on the War against the Dutch, but to supply my extraordinary Occasions.

If it were not that I question the Being of a Deity, I should be apt to conclude that God fights for the Hollanders, who have obtain'd some fresh Advantages against me at Sea:

and

and though they labour under the greateſt of Preſſures that can be, they do alſo make good their Cauſe againſt the Power of *France* by Land. And thoſe pernicious Hereticks being ſenſible of the Apprehenſions which my Parliament have, that the Conſequences of this War may be fatal to the Proteſtant Intereſt, they have taken the moſt effectual Method that can be to poſſeſs that Heretical Divan, that the French King and my ſelf aim at nothing leſs than the Subverſion of their Religion, and the Liberties of their State, with that of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Nor have I any other way to ſave my ſelf from the Influences of this Acculation, than by inſiſting on the neceſſity of deſtroying thoſe States to preſerve our own Trade, and to prevent the Incouragement which they give to thoſe who are Enemies to the eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline of our Church.

There is but too much Truth in the common Proverb, That after one Miſchief comes another, for ſo I find it by ſad Experience. Though the Dutch and the Phanatical Party be both of them hated by the Church of *England*, yet they have Influence enough to foment Jealouſies in the Parliament, that their Religion and Liberty are both in danger: And hence comes the Addreſs of the Commons againſt my Brother's March with the

Dutcheſs

Dutcheſs of *Modena*, becauſe a Catholick Princeſs, and propoſed by the French King. 'Tis true that this may indeed ſeem inconſiſtent with my reiterated Proteſtations of taking all imaginable Care to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion and the Peoples Liberties: but amongſt ſo many Conceſſions I may certainly venture on one Dram of Prerogative, and tell them, that the Marriage is concluded by my Authority, that in Honour I cannot be worſe than my Word; and if this will not ſatisfy them, I'll cool them by a Prorogation.

What ill Fate is this that attends all my Meaſures! I did reaſonably hope that this Prorogation would have diverted the Commons from inſiſting on their Addreſs againſt my Brother's Match; but it ſeems that the Jealouſy which they have conceiv'd has taken deeper Root than to be pull'd up ſo ſoon, and therefore I find my ſelf under a neceſſity to prorogue them again, ſeeing they preſs me ſo hard to diſſolve the Match, becauſe hitherto only concluded by Proxy. They are become very ſagacious, and diſcern that this Marriage will engage me in new Alliances, which may be dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion; and that the Princeſs having ſo many Relations in the Court of *Rome*, the Secrets of my Court muſt needs be open to them, and there-

therefore they are about to render Catholicks incapable of sitting in either House of Parliament: but this is too much for me to concede, and if granted, would ruine my Design intirely; and therefore I must find out some Method to divert the Current, which I cannot attempt with hopes of so much Success any other way, as that of laying the whole Burden upon the Fanaticks, and the Suggestions of the Dutch, it being both their Interests to create Differences between the Parliament and me; and that therefore I thought fit to prorogue them, that they may have time for second and more moderate Thoughts, because the Enemy would reap more Advantage from our Divisions than they could flatter themselves with the hopes of from their own Arms; and that therefore it's more their Interest to secure me and themselves from our only Competitors and Rivals at Sea abroad, and the Fanaticks, who are the Brands of intestine Discord at home, the present Evils under which we labour, than to trouble themselves about such remote Consequences as the Fears of the Growth of Popery, because of my Brother's marrying with a Catholick Princess: And in the mean time, that my Friends amongst the Clergy and others, who will certainly espouse the Defence of my Practice, may have Ground work

work for plausible Arguments, I will publish a Proclamation for putting the Laws in execution against Papists, forbid them my own Court, and that of my Brother; which, though it may seem very hard and severe upon our good Friends the Roman Catholicks, yet none of them, whoare Men of Thoughts, will be much offended at it, when they consider that he and I both have chosen Wives of that Religion; and especially that I take care to have my Brother's Marriage solemniz'd the very next day after the Proclamation. And to cut off all Pretence of Excuse from the Church of *England*, whom I design to engage in the Cause with my self, the Marriage shall be consummated by one of their own Bishops at *Dover*, that Place being already famous for the Alliance which broke the Triple League, on the Influence of my Sister the Dutchess of *Orleans*. And thus I shall retrieve my late Losses, and strengthen my Alliances with *France*, by matching my Brother with an adopted Daughter of that Crown, there being no more reason for the Parliament's opposing of the Match with this Popish Princess, than that which was talk'd of with the Arch-dutchess of *Inspruck*: Whence I perceive, that though the Clamour to enrage the Populace be the Danger of Religion, yet there's nothing but Policy and Interest at

bottom: and that they thought an Alliance with the House of *Austria* not so dangerous to their own Liberties, as one with the House of *Bourbon*: and their Argument from Conscience hath receiv'd a mortal Wound, when the Bill that English Princes should marry none but Protestants was thrown out of the House of Lords by the unanimous Vote of the Bishops Bench, though their Lordships, at the same time, did as unanimously vote for a Test to make their own Form of Church-Government unalterable: And certainly if they who call themselves the Fathers of the Protestant Church have so little Zeal for the Main of their Religion, I may be allowed a greater Latitude on that Head, and even to oppose it when those ghostly Fathers have given Instructions to their Clergy, to represent the Dissenter as a more dangerous Enemy than the Papist.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*On his Majesty's Speech to the House of Lords, upon the Address of the Commons against his Declaration of Indulgence. The Answer of the Lords thereunto. The Vote of the Commons for Ease to Protestant Dissenters, and that part of their Address which desired that all in Places of Power and Trust should take the Sacrament according to the Church of* England.

THE Commons having shew'd so much Warmth against my Declaration of Indulgence, I thought that my Speech would have proven a very good Expedient to have set the Lords at Variance with them, especially when I professed so much Zeal for the Upper House: but I find, that though they differ in respect of their own particular Privileges, yet they are agreed in the common Heads of Religion and Liberty, and consequently in the defence of them against my Designs, as appears by their conjunct Address, wherein they complain of Papists being admitted into Places of Power and Trust, and especially into Military Commands; and instead of standing by me against the Com-

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mons, they have only resolv'd that my Answer to them in referring the Points in controversy to a Parliamentary Decision is good and gracious.

By the Vote of the Commons for Ease to Protestant Dissenters, I perceive that they are now jealous that those Penal Laws were at first framed for the destruction of the Protestant Interest: but seeing they have denied me the Privilege of dispensing with those Laws, I shall take care to have them kept on foot; and this will be sufficient to render all their Efforts against me faint and of no effect, which would be formidable enough if the Strength of the Protestants were united: And whereas they think that they have done mighty things in excluding Papists from Places of Power and Trust by their Sacramental Test, it demonstrates sufficiently how little they are acquainted with the Principles or Practices of the Catholicks, who can have a Dispensation to do what they please for the advancement of their Interest. And that, moreover, there are abundance of Church-Papists, who make no Scruple of Conformity; whereas the Dissenting Protestants, who are the greatest Enemies to my Measures, cannot comply with the said Test: so that instead of excluding their Enemies, they shut out their Fellow-Protestants; or at least will

be sure to manage it so as to make it have that Effect; and I doubt not to reap very good Advantage from this Method, and to make it appear to the common Observer, that this manner of Procedure is wholly (as it is indeed in a great part) owing to the Rancour of the Episcopal Party, and not to the Designs of the Court: for I make no question but that the Church-of-*England*-Clergy will speedily take the Alarm of the Hazard that threatens their Constitution, if once Dissenters have Ease, and be admitted into the Church; so that my Enemies are not aware of my Advantage against them, by having the Pulpits of the Nation on my side. By the Influence of the Bishops, who depend so much upon me, I can make the Pulpits speak in the Court-Dialect, and libel the Proceedings of the Commons as the Result of Fanatical and Republican Consults; which being pronounced *ex Cathedra*, and having the Shadow of Divine Authority, and that of the Civil Magistrate, to back it, will have a more universal Effect than their private Murmurings in Clubs and Conventicles. And though this Test may in some measure incommode the bigotted Catholicks in my Service at home; yet I will order it so as it shall not reach those who are in my Service abroad; and there I can have a Nursery of

Sword-men fit for my purpose, and provide for my Catholick Officers, till such time as the Design for introducing of Popery and Absolute Monarchy be ripe.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*Upon the Complaints of the Commons, that* Ireland *was like to be over-run with Popery, because of his Majesty's Proclamation, allowing Papists to live in Corporations, and giving them equal Liberties to the English. Their Address concerning the Danger of the Protestant Interest there; and that Mr.* Richard Talbot *should be remov'd from all Publick Employment, and denied Access to Court: And their Address concerning English Grievances; with Reflections on the Miscarriages of his Majesty's former Designs of being impower'd to raise Money without Parliament, on extraordinary Occasions; and having an Universal Excise settled on the Crown.*

WHat mighty Clamours do continually sound in my Ears, as to the Dangers which threaten the Protestant Religion? and now that I have given them the most solemn Promises that can be for my Care and Endeavours

vours to preſerve the ſame in *England*, they exhibite an Addreſs of their Fears as to *Ireland*, where they ſtrike at once both againſt my Deſigns in Church and State, and fall foul upon my Proclamation, granting the Iriſh Papiſts the ſame Liberty with the Engliſh Proteſtants; ſo that they are reſolved to quarrel with my Prerogative in every Particular, and will allow me to be Abſolute in nothing but in quelling Diſſenters, ſo little Senſe have they of that Religion which they profeſs, by the Laws of which they are enjoin'd to love their Neighbours as themſelves: but I perceive that they are firmly reſolv'd that none ſhall have the Privilege to buy nor ſell, but ſuch as conform to the Church of *England*.

The imprudent Zeal of Mr. *Richard Talbot*, who glories in being Agent to the Roman Catholicks in *Ireland*, hath animated them not only to addreſs againſt him, but againſt imploying any Catholicks in *Ireland*, either as Officers or Souldiers. Nor do they ſtop there, but deſire that I ſhould recal my Commiſſion of Inquiry into Iriſh Affairs, as tending to the Overthrow of the Act of Settlement; and the like as to my Letter, forbidding the Proſecution of the Iriſh for any Injuries they committed in the late Rebellion; and urge me to baniſh their Titular

Biſhops and Archbiſhops, and to ſuppreſs their Seminaries and publick Schools, and yet at the ſame time pretend to be the Patrons and Diſciples of the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, while they preſcribe Laws to their Monarchs. I thought it the beſt Policy to begin to exert my Prerogative in *Ireland*, by extending Favour to the Catholicks there, who did ſo cordially eſpouſe my Father's Quarrel againſt the Puritanical Rebels both in *England* and *Scotland*, concluding, as I thought with Reaſon, that the Church-of-*England*-men would have been willing that the Iriſh Catholicks, who were their Fellow-Sufferers in Affliction, ſhould alſo be Fellow-Sharers with them in their Proſperity after my Reſtoration; and that thoſe who had no Scruple of Conſcience to join with them in Arms againſt their common Enemies the Presbyterians, even after they were accounted barbarous for maſſacring the Proteſtants, ſhould have had no Diſquiet at ſeeing them Copartners with themſelves in my Royal Bounty: but I find that I am miſtaken, and that the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience is only calculated to the Church of *England*'s Intereſt, but has no place when that is not the Monarch's chief Aim; for they not only take upon them to quarrel with my Proclamations and Letters about the Affairs of *Ireland*, but pre-

pretend to order who shall have Access to my Court, and who not, as if the King of *Great Britain* was to be confin'd to as narrow Limits as the Doge of *Venice*, so ill founded are those Peoples Complaints against the Scots Presbyterians, for imposing Conditions upon me before my Coronation; that they themselves who admitted me almost without any, are now for intrenching upon my Prerogative when I am in plenary Possession: And yet because of this pretended Constraint upon me, the Episcopal Party justify my Breach of Covenant with the Scots; so that according to their own Doctrine I may as well break with themselves when I find an Opportunity, because they now take the Advantage of my Circumstances and want of Money to bring me to their own Terms, which is still more palpable from their other Address concerning their own Grievances, *viz.* my imposing of 12 *d. per* Chaldron upon Coals, for providing of Convoys; the exempting of my Souldiers from ordinary Justice; the quartering of them on private Houses; the pressing of Men for Land-Service, *&c.* So that notwithstanding of the Divine Right of Succession, my not being accountable to any but God, and the Height to which their Divines have preach'd up my Prerogative, they would still reduce me to a

King

King of Clouts. These things being so inconsistent with the Church of *England*'s pretended Principles, I must take care to possess the Clergy of the Danger they are in if such Incroachments upon the Crown be suffered to pass without Animadversion: for as they value themselves upon the Maxim of *No Bishop, no King*; as if where Episcopacy is not the Government of the Church, Monarchy can never be that of the State; I am sure that the converted Proposition, *No King no Bishop*, will hold much truer: And if once there be an Incroachment made upon the Crown, the Privileges of the Mitre will never be lasting; and therefore it's their Interest to disown the Maintainers of such Principles for true Sons of the Church, as I can never own them for good Subjects to the State; and so we shall brand them with a Note of Ignominy: But in the mean time I must put the Commons off with a smooth Answer, both my Father and I having sufficiently smarted by provoking Parliaments, though at the same time I shall be sure to prorogue them, that so all their Designs of Ease to Dissenters, and to oppose my Brother's Match, may fall to the ground; and this I esteem a much safer way of dealing, than to withdraw from them, and set up my Standard, as my Father did, who seems to have entail'd

entail'd his Misfortune in War on all his Posterity; for I find that the Minds of those who depend intirely upon me are mutable, and therefore I have less Reason to put Confidence in the Body of the Nation, who brag of their Privileges as a free People. The Church-men, notwithstanding of their former Flights of Zeal for the Prerogative, do many of them join with those who are for encroaching upon it; and my very Pensioners, who liv'd by my Bounty, withstood my Designs of having a Power to levy Money upon extraordinary Occasions, and getting an universal Excise settled upon the Crown, because they found that if these things were but once obtain'd, there would be no need of Pensioners, and consequently an End put to their Salaries and Subsistence. Nor are even the highest of the Clergy, who bind Passive Obedience upon the Consciences of their Hearers, on pain of Damnation, willing to have an Arbitrary Power put in exercise over themselves: and the most obsequious of their Hearers, though they applaud the French King and his Government, are very unwilling to have it introduc'd here, and therefore concur with the Phanatical Members to oppose the keeping up of a Standing Army; and as they have excluded their Brethren the Dissenters, they are also unwilling that the

Roman

Roman Catholicks ſhould be Sharers with them in Places of Power and Truſt: ſo that my Epiſcopal Subjects are indeed very Loyal, but it's on this Condition, that they alone may enjoy the Bag; and if either I, or any of my Succeſſors ſhall put out our hands and touch them in their Property, I make no doubt of it but they will curſe us to our Face; and therefore I muſt take care to drive on cunningly but not furiouſly, ſo that when I have a mind to be reveng'd on any of my Enemies, I muſt repreſent them as Fanaticks and Commonwealths-Men; then ſhall I be ſure to have them baited from the Pulpits, nor ſhall they find any more favourable Treatment when they come before the Benches.

## CHAP. L.

*On his Majeſty's making Application to the Parliament of* Scotland, *upon his failing of Money from the Parliament of* England, *the* Scots *inſiſting firſt upon the Redreſs of their Grievances, and ſending Duke* Hamilton *and others to* London *for that End.*

MY Caſe is very deſperate when I muſt have recourſe to the Pooreſt of my Subjects for Money, and that the Richeſt refuſe

refuse it. My Father and Grandfather took such Measures as tended to the keeping of *Scotland* low; so that it's no wonder that that Nation should have fail'd them in their Distress. They were obliged by their Coronation-Oaths to live some part of their time there, lest the Substance of the Kingdom should be spent in *England* by the Nobilities being obliged to frequent the Court: but Reasons of State induc'd them to do otherwise; for the Scots being a People tenacious of their Privileges, and zealous for their Religion, did oppose their Measures for advancing the Prerogative; whence it became necessary to humble them, lest their Example should have had bad Influence on the two other Kingdoms. My Father, it's true, would have proceeded further, and design'd to have chastis'd their Contumacy with the Sword; but how unsuccessful it proved in the Event, is too late and recent to be forgotten: their Kindness to me was truly remarkable in declaring me their King immediately upon his Murder; but I am afraid that my treatment of them since hath effac'd those good Impressions which they had of me then, seeing I have not only overturn'd the Presbyterians, who were at that time my greatest Friends, but cut off the Chief of their Patrons, and brought the whole Party under the lash.

laſh. Curſed be the Neceſſity which occaſions my application to them, and may thoſe Diſciples of Paſſive Obedience, the Church-of-*England*-Men, be dealt with in the ſame manner as they have dealt with me. They pretended to receive me without any previous Terms, and to own the Divine Right of my Succeſſion to the Throne; but now when I have ſettled the Diſcipline of their Church, and brought the Diſſenters under their feet, they are alſo for diſputing my Commands, and confining my Prerogative within narrower Limits. I muſt now try whether their Brethren, the Epiſcopal Party in *Scotland*, will be any thing more ingenuous, and if they can really perform what they have ſo ſolemnly promiſed, they have undertaken to aſſiſt me with 22000 Horſe and Foot wherever I ſhall have occaſion; then ſurely they may let me have the Money and ſave their Men, which would do my buſineſs in an effectual Manner: and that no means may be left unattempted, I will ſend the Earl of *Lauderdale*, their great Patron, to perſwade them to it.

But my curſed Fate continues inauſpicious, and I find that the Party in *Scotland* are very inſignificant, being not ſo much as able to grant me one Subſidy; but inſtead of that, I am preſented with an Addreſs of their Grievances,

Grievances, and a ſmart Remonſtrance againſt *Lauderdale*'s Miniſtry, back'd by the greateſt of the Peers of *Scotland*, whoſe Noiſe and Complaints have reach'd me in *England*; and until thoſe be redreſſed, they won't ſo much as hear of any Overtures for Money. I was made to believe that an unbounded Loyalty had been ſo univerſally diffuſed through that Kingdom, that the Epiſcopal Party ador'd, and the Presbyterians fear'd me; but Experience teaches the contrary, elſe what means this bleating of the Sheep and lowing of the Oxen? the Epiſcopal Party though they alone are capable of being admitted to Parliament, either cannot or will not give me Money, and their Libel of Grievances are but an old Presbyterian Remonſtrance newly vamp'd, being an Impeachment of my Adminiſtration both in Church and State, and including Deſires in favour of the Diſſenters. They complain of the Monopoly of Salt, which hath increaſed the price of it ſo much, that what was formerly had for 4, cannot now be bought for 20 *s.* though the Inconvenience of this Monopoly was repreſented to me. They do alſo murmur againſt the Impoſitions on Brandy and Tobacco; and that the Lords of the Articles who were originally no more than a Committee of the Parliament's appointment, are

now

now advanc'd above Parliaments themſelves: That the Mint and Coinage are corrupted: Perſons ignorant and inſufficient created Judges: That the Biſhop of *Edinburgh* and others of the Clergy are countenanc'd in preaching reflectingly upon the Parliament: That Magiſtrates are illegally impoſed upon the City of *Edinburgh*: That eminent Offices are accumulated upon ſingle Perſons; and conclude this Point with the Male-adminiſtration of my Revenue, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s exceſſive Greatneſs. In the next place they complain of the Severity of the Laws againſt the Presbyterians, and that my own Power is too great in Church-Affairs: ſo that the Nations ſeem reſolved to join Complaints againſt my Government; and how fatal the Iſſue of that may be, I can eaſily conjecture from by-paſt times; therefore I muſt diſmiſs Duke *Hamilton* with a favourable Anſwer, and promiſe a Redreſs of Grievances in Parliament, that ſo I may allay their preſent Heat. 'Tis happy for me that I have two other Kingdoms by which I can overawe them, or elſe their Addreſs had been back'd by the Sword, and they would probably have brought me on my Knees before their Parliament, as they have done ſeveral of my Predeceſſors, or have cut off my Head; but I ſhall henceforth endeavour to put them out of

of a Capacity to deal ſo by me or any of my Succeſſors. And whereas the Presbyterians do tenaciouſly adhere to the pretended Liberties of their Fore-fathers, inſtead of Rods, by which they were chaſtis'd by my Father, I ſhall henceforth order it ſo that they ſhall be pun'ſh'd with Scorpions, that they may be rendred altogether unable to raiſe any Rebellion at home, or aſſiſt the Parliament of *England*, and the Proteſtants of *Ireland* abroad. I will take ſuch effectual Courſe to render them contemptible, that they ſhall not henceforth have the Vanity, as in my Father's time, to think that the Repreſentation of their Preſſures can find any Acceptance with their ancient Allies of *France*, to whom they recommended themſelves formerly by their Military Services; ſo that at once I ſhall revenge upon them the Blood of all my Predeceſſors whom they have murdered, and turn the beſt of their Country into a Hunting Field. And herein I doubt not of the Concurrence, or at leaſt Connivance of the Engliſh Nation, becauſe of the ancient Enmity betwixt the two Kingdoms; and if once the Scots be ſubjected, I ſhall with the more Eaſe bring *England* under the Yoke.

N CHAP.

## CHAP. LI.

*On the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Propoſals for an Union betwixt* England *and* Holland, *and declaring that they muſt break with* England *if the ſame were not accepted. The* Manifeſto *of the Dutch to the Parliament of* England, *wherein they appeal to them for the Righteouſneſs of their Cauſe. The Parliament's Endeavours thereupon for a Peace; and his Majeſty's agreeing to it without including the French King.*

MY Stars ſeem to threaten me with a Series of bad Influences; I can neither have Money from my Subjects of *Scotland* nor *England*, nor yet the wonted Supplies from *France*: and now the Spaniards are not only become Mediators, but threaten me if I continue the War with the Dutch. What a mighty Change is this, that they who did formerly ſeek their Deſtruction, ſhould now interpoſe for their Preſervation, and treat their formerly Rebel-Subjects with that Reſpect which is due to the beſt of their Allies: And that his Catholick Majeſty, whoſe Predeceſſors were the greateſt Champions for Popery and Abſolute Monarchy, ſhould now be-

become the Patron of Hereticks and Republicans. I may hence observe, that Princes pursue different Measures, according to their different Interests, and support those at one time, whom at another they seek to destroy. The Spaniard, though esteem'd the most bigotted Papist, yet prefers his Interest to his Religion, and thinks it better to save the Heretical Dutch, than to perish with them; and to preserve their Commonwealth, rather than to lose a Limb of his own Monarchy. And seeing all the Neighbouring Monarchs pursue what they think their different Interests, and *summum bonum*, by such Methods as they themselves think best, I may certainly be allowed to pursue my Pleasures, which I reckon my chief Happiness, by such Methods as I my self think convenient.

The Dutch take advantage from the Discontents of my Subjects, and labour to foment Jealousies betwixt them and me; and according to their Republican Humour, would make the Parliament judg of my Actions, whereby they would insinuate themselves into my Peoples Favour, and blacken my Designs as much as they can.

Accordingly I do find that they have their Aim, and the Commons have declared their Sentiments for a Peace; so unhappy a thing it is when the Head and the Members don't

agree, and that Soveraign and Subjects drive different Designs. I must try what Influence a Speech will have upon the Commons, when larded with Promises of securing their Religion and Property; and tell them, that our Enemies place their greatest Hopes in our Divisions; and seeing they prepare for a War, it will be very dishonourable for the English Nation to be threatned into a Peace, especially seeing the best way to procure an honourable Peace is to treat with the Sword in hand, and to have a good Fleet ready to oppose them, which cannot be effected without a large Supply. I have also taken care to inform the House as to my Treaties with *France*, of which they have had hitherto very frightful Representations, but cannot prevail with them to believe what I say, so far have their Jealousies got the Ascendant over them, that Popery and Arbitrary Government are ready to break in upon them; wherein the Earl of *Shaftsbury* proves a very ill Instrument, and foments their Jealousies by discovering my Intrigues, so mischievous a thing is it when great Courtiers fall off from their Duty; so that now the Commons will listen to nothing without a firm Security for their Religion and Property: and the better to insinuate to the People the greatness of their Danger, they have made application to me to appoint a

Fast,

Faſt, deſire that the Trainbands of *London* may be raiſed to ſuppreſs the tumultuous Meetings of the Papiſts, and accuſe my chief Miniſters of Deſigns againſt the Nation, for which they would have them baniſh'd my Preſence for ever. Theſe are woful Circumſtances to which I am reduc'd, and afford me but a melancholy Subject of Meditation, when I conſider what Pains and Expence I have been at to deliver the Nations from the Bigotry of Religion, by teſtifying how little I value it in my own Practice, and how careful I have been to diſcourage it in others; that now when my Parliament hath concurr'd with me for ſo many Years, to ruine their diſſenting Brethren at home, and Proteſtant Neighbours abroad, they ſhould at laſt become refractory and obſtinate, and from an over-heated Zeal for Religion purſue the ſame Meaſures themſelves which they have condemned in others. I reckon'd that the indulging of a Licentiouſneſs in Practice, would at laſt have extinguiſh'd all Senſe of that which they call Religion; but the Event ſhews that I am miſtaken. The Phanaticks, whom I have proſecuted, will ſay, that the Judgment of God hath purſu'd me, and created a Difference betwixt me and my Parliament, who did ſo unanimouſly concur to promote their Ruine; and this Cant they will buz

and ſpread about the Nation, and value themſelves upon their Foreſight, as having ſo long ago foretold what is now come to paſs; and by this Means work upon the preſent Fears and Ferment of the Nation: but I ſhall fall upon a Method to be even with them afterwards, and infallibly turn the Tables upon them. In the mean time I muſt make the beſt Improvement of my preſent Circumſtances that I can; and ſeeing there is no avoiding of a Peace with the Dutch, I muſt ſeek for a Pretence to come off with Honour, for which the Marquiſs de *Freſno*'s Propoſals, in name of his Catholick Majeſty, come very opportunely: for ſeeing they are new Propoſals, I can eaſily give out that they are more advantagious than the former; and by ſeeming to adviſe with the Commons, whether it be meet for me to accept of them or not, I ſhall both pleaſe them, and ſalve my own Reputation, for my Allies the French will by this Means ſee that my concluding of Peace is the Effect of Conſtraint, and not of Choice, ſeeing I can neither have Money nor the Parliament's Conſent to carry on the War: and if the French King ſhould complain that I act diſhonourably in concluding a Peace without him, it will be a plauſible Anſwer, that I am not Abſolute as he is: So that having neither Men nor Money at Command,

mand, without my Parliament's Concurrence, I am under a Neceſſity of diſcontinuing a War, which they are againſt: And ſeeing he hath fail'd me in his promiſed Supplies, he cannot be angry that I ſeek for them elſewhere, it being every whit as reaſonable that I ſhould ſatisfy my own Pleaſures, as it is for him to gratify his Ambition. And ſeeing my Parliament have very bad Impreſſions of the Treaties betwixt him and me, as containing myſterious and dangerous Articles, it's but reaſonable that I ſhould draw a Vail over their Eyes, by ſeeming now to come to an abſolute Rupture, that we may afterwards carry on our Deſigns with leſs Suſpicion: but if none of thoſe Reaſons will ſatisfy him, I am not ſolicitous, for I know that he can as little be without me as I can be without him; and that a mutual Friendſhip is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the carrying on of either our Deſigns; and if he will be diſguſted at this Treatment, he may remember how he forbad me his Dominions at the Inſtance of a Rebel and Uſurper, and how little Care he hath had of my Reputation ever ſince, but hath continually expos'd me both as to the Affair of betraying Monſieur *Rohan*, the ſuffering of it to be printed at *Paris*, that he and I engag'd in this War againſt the Dutch, on purpoſe to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religi-

on, ordering his Squadron to abandon my Fleet in the Day of Battel, and graſping all the Country to himſelf when he over-run the Hollanders by Land, without the leaſt Deſign of making me a Sharer, according to our Agreement. But let him be well or ill pleas'd, I cannot help it: My Parliament have not only teſtify'd their Diſlike of his Alliance, and this preſent War, but have begun to attaque me in the Perſons of my Miniſters, who have hitherto been ſo neceſſary both for the promoting of my Prerogative and Pleaſures; and therefore in prudence I am oblig'd to clap up a Peace, not being able to deal both with the Parliament at home, and the Dutch abroad; though I muſt confeſs that it is not without a ſenſible Regret that I muſt perceive both him and my ſelf robb'd of our Prey when it was juſt betwixt our Teeth.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LII.

*On his Majeſty's proroguing the Parliament, becauſe of their impeaching his Miniſters, forming Bills againſt Popery, and for the marrying of thoſe of the Royal Family with Proteſtants, and educating their Children in that Religion. Clamours rais'd in the Nation, that we were running back to* 41. *The Court's mediating a Peace betwixt* France *and* Holland, *and ſending* 10000 *of their own Subjects into the French King's Service.*

IT may be thought ſtrange that a Parliament of ſuch ſtanch Church-men ſhould be ſo uneaſy with their Soveraign, and contrary to their profeſſed Principles wound me ſo furiouſly through the ſides of my Miniſters; they condemn the Puritans for inſiſting ſo much againſt *Strafford* and *Laud*, whereas they themſelves are as violent againſt the Duke of *Buckingam*, Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Earl of *Arlington*. Whence I find, that let them pretend what they will, their Loyalty is meaſured by their ſuppoſed Intereſt.

My being obliged to concede to them in one thing hath emboldned them to preſs upon me to yield in another: So that having obliged

liged me to put an End to the War, they are resolved to deprive me of the Sweets of Peace, and to rob me of those Ministers in whom I delight, because of their Agreement with me in Practice and Design. If I suffer them to be brought to trial, it will not only discourage others from serving me afterward, but endanger both my Reputation and Safety, and bring me to Repentance when it is too late, as my Father did after he abandoned *Strafford*. I must not therefore run such a risk, for if I leave them to the Vengeance of the Commons, they will secure themselves by accusing me, and consequently break all my Measures, therefore it is necessary for me to prorogue the Parliament; and if I can be otherwise supplied with Money, shall never call them more, but rid my self of that pernicious Divan, who are an ungrateful Check upon all Monarchs. My Father found, by sad Experience, the mischievous Inconvenience of making use of them; and what King is there who will not be easily convinc'd of the danger of having such an Assembly to controul them in their Designs, dive into their Secrets, and chain up their Hands, that I must neither favour what Religion I think fit, marry what Wife I please, nor make such Alliances as I think advantagious, and for my Interest, without their Consent, and

and Limits, or rather Fetters of their impoſing? And thus my ill-natured Subjects do continually ſtun my Ears with their Clamours againſt Popery; not that they have any true Regard to the contrary Religion which they profeſs, as may be ſeen by their Practice, but becauſe of their temporal Intereſt. Then they break in upon the Peace of my own Family; ſo that I muſt neither gratify a Wife, to ſuffer her to educate a Child in her own Religion, though perhaps the ſame may be alſo moſt agreeable to my own Opinion; Nor muſt any of my Children, or near Relations, be ſuffered to marry with Roman Catholicks, for fear of the dangerous Conſequence to their beloved Hereſy. And thus though they pretend to believe that Monarchy is the only Government of Divine Right, and that I hold my Crown from God alone by lineal Succeſſion, they load me with ſuch Fetters that they convert my Diadem to a Crown of Thorns; and how deſirable ſoever a Throne may ſeem to be, yet by thoſe Reſtraints they would make it ſweeter to the Fancy than the Enjoyment.

This dangerous Temper muſt be obſtructed in time, and a Method found out to divert their Zeal, and give it ſome other Current. The Phanaticks were the laſt who had them under their Feet, and have ſtill a great Intereſt

reſt in the Nation; whereas the Catholicks have now been diſpoſſeſſed for an Age, and have no other Proſpect but the Favour of the Court to recover their Footing. Then the Courſe which does naturally offer it ſelf to my View, is to alarm the Nation with the Danger of relapſing into the Diſorders of 1641. which iſſued in the Deſtruction of the Church and Monarchy. The Puritans uſher'd in their Rebellion by Clamours againſt the Invaſions of their Civil Rights by an unlimited Prerogative, and of their Religion by Innovations in Doctrine and Diſcipline; and that therefore it is a Shame for them who pretend to ſo much Loyalty, and to deſpiſe others upon the account of contrary Principles, to be found tracing their Footſteps. The Clergy, I am ſure, will be ſenſible of the Danger, and will, no doubt, be ready to take the Alarm; and when the Pulpits are on my ſide, I can diffuſe what Opinions and Notions I pleaſe through the Nation: and if once the Clergy be poſſeſſed with an apprehenſion of the Danger they are in of loſing their Benefices by the Fanaticks; and that the Gentry, who did formerly ſmart by Sequeſtrations, be effectually put in mind of their former Sufferings, and the Probability of running headlong into the ſame Inconveniencies, by purſuing the Methods which they are now upon;

I doubt not but the Current will turn as ſtrongly upon the Phanaticks and Republicans, as it does now againſt the Catholicks and Courtiers, eſpecially when back'd by my Authority, and made the Path-way to Preferment in Church and State; for I ſhall henceforth take care that none be advanc'd in either, but ſuch as are willing to concur with my Deſigns. For the carrying on of which it is neceſſary that ſome acute Pens be ſet at work to defend my Proceedings, and draw ſuch Vails over them as cannot be ſeen through by ordinary Obſervers.

It is alſo neceſſary for that end, that I imploy ſome fit Perſons to negotiate a Peace betwixt *France* and *Holland*, which as it will be a plauſible Argument of my Averſion to have that Proteſtant State deſtroyed, it will give the French King an Opportunity to concert his Meaſures at leiſure, render his Proteſtants leſs uſeful to him at home, and the eaſier to be deſtroyed, and enable him to aſſiſt me in advancing my Prerogative: for which end he ſhall have 10000 of my Subjects in his Service, who after they have acquired Experience and Reputation in his Wars, will be uſeful to me for training up others, and be ready at hand to quell my rebellious Subjects, in caſe of inteſtine Troubles.

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The old Cavaliers may be now very uſeful to me; and whereas they have hitherto complain'd of being neglected, I will incite them by hopes of having their old Services rewarded, to publiſh their former Sufferings afreſh, and declare that the Parliament is taking the ſame Methods which did formerly ruine the Church and the State, by which Means I ſhall bring their Procedure to be hated, and animate the Royaliſts and zealous Church-men againſt them.

## CHAP. LIII.

*On the Meeting of the Parliament again,* April, 1675. *Their falling upon Bills for the Benefit of the Nation, and being diverted by the ſudden bringing in of a Teſt into the Houſe of Lords, to be impoſed upon all in Places of Power or Truſt, Civil, Military or Eccleſiaſtical; obliging them to declare their Abhorrence of taking up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſionated by him; and to ſwear that they would not at any time endeavour the Alteration of the Government either in Church or State.*

THE Want of Money obliges me to let the Parliament ſit after ſo long a Prorogation; but, to my great Grief, I perceive that

that the Vitals and noble Parts of the Nation are in danger by this Contagion of rebellious Principles, which hath rag'd ſo long amongſt them. Inſomuch that whereas it might have been juſtly expected that this long Prorogation ſhould have cool'd them, they fall upon the old Theme of Bills for the Advantage of the Nation; but I am reſolv'd to give them a Diverſion by the Cavalier and High Churchman, whom I have inſpir'd with a Deſire of Revenge for old Injuries, and put them in hopes of better Succeſs than formerly, if they ſhould have occaſion of fighting the old Quarrel over again, ſeeing now they are poſſeſſed of the Arms, Forts and Ammunition of the Nation, and are ſure of one to head them, who will never be guilty of ſuch a precipitant Action as to leave their Enemies in poſſeſſion of *London*, diveſt himſelf of the Power of the Militia, or lodg his Power in the Hands of the Parliament. So that the Church and I ſhall mutually gratify one another, and maintain both Monarchy and Epiſcopacy to be of Divine Right, and not to be bounded by humane Laws. We have made conſiderable Steps towards this already; the Act for regulating Corporations hath excluded all Men of different Principles from the Magiſtracy; the Act of Uniformity hath ſhut them out from the Miniſtry; and the Act of

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the Militia hath left them no Place in the Army: So that it only remains for laying on the Top-ſtone of the whole Fabrick, that we get this Teſt to be univerſally impoſed, and then we take away all Opportunity from the Parliament to alter any thing in Church or State, and confine them to their proper Work of raiſing Money. The Biſhops, who have their Dependance upon me, muſt be taught to inſtruct their inferiour Clergy to make uſe of their Learning to juſtify and not to examine what their Superiours command: And ſeeing this Oath ſecures their beloved Government and Diſcipline to Perpetuity, they can neither in Gratitude nor Intereſt decline their Concurrence to promote the ſame in favour of the Crown; which, with ſo much Zeal, they deſire for the Mitre. If this can be obtain'd, the Act of Oblivion will be made void, and then we can take a ſweet Revenge on the Phanaticks and Republicans. The better to make it paſs, we muſt endeavour to poſſeſs the Parliament, that it's a neceſſary and moderate Security for the Church and Crown, and will be the moſt effectual Preſervative that can be thought on againſt ſuch Rebellions as that of 41. The Neceſſity of it may eaſily be inſtructed from the Swarms of Phanaticks, and Men of dangerous Principles, which abound in the Nation:

on: And all who refuse to give this moderate Security, shall be look'd on as tainted with this rebellious Leaven.

But I find that I must still lay my Account to meet with Opposition; for those Lords who value themselves, as being Patriots to their Country, but in reality a factious Cabal, oppose this Bill with Vigour, as incroaching on the Birth-right of the Peers, striking at the Root of the Government, taking away Freedom of Debate from the Houses of Parliament, which have part of the Legislative Power, obliging them to abjure all Endeavours to alter the Government of the Church, whatever the Necessities of the State, or Christian Compassion to Dissenters may require; and therefore they have protested against it; but however I have this Satisfaction, that it is carried against them, and committed. And my Lords the Bishops have behav'd themselves bravely in it, by endeavouring not only to have those Protesting Lords personally punished, but the Liberty of exhibiting Reasons with their Protestations abolished, because of their pretending a Christian Compassion to Dissenters: Nor did they shew themselves less my Friends in rejecting the Proviso's offer'd by the Protesting Lords, to secure the Freedom of Debate to Members of Parliament, and prevent Dan-

gers from Popiſh Reculants. And though they could not anſwer, yet they could outvote the Arguments brought againſt Aſſertory Oaths in point of Doctrine, and Promiſſory Oaths, though held unlawful by *Grotius*; and generally ineffectual, to keep ill Men out of the Government, though they may exclude ſome conſcientious Perſons: And as the Biſhops cannot juſtify this their Procedure, without an aſſurance of Infallibility, which they do not pretend to, it ſhews that they do not believe the Religion which they profeſs and teach. And ſeeing I perceive this to be common among Prieſts of all Religions, it cannot but juſtify me, though I ſhould openly profeſs my ſelf to be of none. I perceive the Country Lords have found out my Deſign to ſwear them not to oppoſe an Arbitrary Government, by binding them up not to reſiſt my ſelf or any having my Commiſſion, though I ſhould command them to do things contrary to the ſtanding Laws; as levying of Money without Conſent of Parliament, *&c.* Or though I ſhould either deliver my ſelf up to the French King, or by Fortune of War fall into his Hands, and either willingly or by conſtraint command my Subjects to do ſuch things as are contrary to my Royal Dignity: Or in caſe that a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould by Force of Arms endeavour

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to eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion: So that I find the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, though inculcated from the Pulpit, as a neceſſary Article of Faith, on pain of Hell and Damnation, hath not obtain'd univerſal Belief amongſt the Church-of-*England*-Laity, whatever it hath done amongſt their Clergy, and conſequently that the latter are not fit for me to rely upon, as not being able enough to defend me againſt that Party who prov'd too ſtrong for them and my Father both; for I am now fully ſatisfied that ſuch of the Church of *England* as agree with the Diſſenters in Politicks, would alſo quickly unite with them in Eccleſiaſticks, if they would but allow them a ſufficient Latitude of Practice: So that hence I have ground enough to perſwade the Clergy to declare againſt all ſuch as Presbyterians in Maſquerade, and ſecret Enemies to their Church-Government, which they do not believe to be *jure divino*, elſe they would never boggle at ſwearing not to alter it.

I have alſo this to comfort me, that I am not ſuſpected alone by thoſe Peers, but the Biſhops do now come in for a ſhare, it being plainly perceiv'd by the contrary Party, that though they took care for their Diſcipline, they took none for their Doctrine, that they might be as good as their Promiſe to the Po-

piſh Lords, that the Oath ſhould be ſo form'd as not to bear hard on them, which is ſtill an Encouragement to me to think better of the Catholick Religion than the Reformed; for the Catholick Clergy I find much truer to their Intereſt than thoſe of the Church of *England*: If the Engliſh Biſhops did believe the Truth of their own Religion, they would certainly be more concerned for its Doctrine than Diſcipline, and not more ſollicitous to ſecure the latter againſt Diſſenters, than the former againſt Catholicks; or if they were Men who made conſcience of Oaths themſelves, they would never be for impoſing ſuch Oaths upon others as are contrary to their own Practice: for if they thought it unlawful to endeavour any Alteration in their Church, they would never make choice of ſuch Men for Preferments as Preach and Write againſt her Doctrine of Predeſtination. Thoſe Prelates do exactly reſemble the Phariſees, who bound heavy Burdens upon the Shoulders of their Diſciples, while they would not touch them themſelves with one of their Fingers; and ſo, though there have been ſeveral Alterations made in the Prayers and Rites of the Church ſince the Reformation by them and their Predeceſſors, yet they would oblige others by Oath never to endeavour the like, but to maintain their Church as now eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed by Law; which ſwears them to maintain the old Popiſh Canons revived by the Firſt of *Elizabeth*, which is indeed of a piece with the laſt Act of Uniformity, that makes Popiſh Prieſts capable of Benefices without Re-ordination if they turn Proteſtants; and yet unchurches all their Reform'd Brethren abroad, and declares their Ordination invalid. It's true that all this is for my Intereſt, and contributes exceedingly to the advancement of my Deſigns; but at the ſame time, though I love the Treaſon I hate the Traitor, and can put no Confidence in thoſe Men, who being falſe to that which they call their own Intereſt, can never be true to mine: and hence I perceive, that though they profeſs otherwiſe, their Religion is the ſame with my own; for as I purſue my Pleaſures, they purſue their Profits as their *ſummum bonum*; and if they may but acquire it, they care not by what Methods. Who then can blame me for disbelieving that Religion which they who are the Fathers of the Church do manifeſtly disbelieve themſelves? or how can I be blamed for favouring Popery as beſt ſuited to my Deſigns, when Proteſtant Biſhops approve of their Ordination, Canons, Ceremonies and Government, and by the choice which they make of Eccleſiaſticks for Preferments, and the Tenderneſs which they

have shew'd to the Catholicks in the management of this Test, it's evident enough that they have no dislike to their Doctrines. However, I am in a great measure obliged to them for standing by me in this Point, though I perceive their principal Motive was to have their own Government rendred as Absolute as my own; and that it should be equally, if not more dangerous for any Man to mutter against the Church, as it is to speak Treason against the State. However if this Oath could be pass'd, I should be happy in my Government, and rendred abundantly more Absolute, than now I can pretend to be; the present Oath of Allegiance and the Laws not being comprehensive enough, but loaded with ungrateful Restrictions. And as for the Bishops, I know how to deal with them if ever they should happen to grow uneasy; the Wounds of my Sword will be sooner felt than those of their Pastoral Staff; and having rendred themselves unacceptable to the Nation by concurring so much with the Court, and being so violent against Dissenters, they cannot well recover their Interest there, and so must be forc'd to comply with me; by which means I can easily protect the Crown against the Efforts of the Mitre.

## CHAP. LIV.

*On the Debate betwixt the Lords and Commons about the Lords hearing of Appeals from any Court of Equity, with the Behaviour of the Biſhops in that Affair, and the Oppoſition which they met with from the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *&c.*

THE Lords having made ſo much oppoſition to my Deſigns, it's my Intereſt now to gain the Commons, and own their Pretenſions againſt the Privileges of the Peers: for if by this means I could render the Upper Houſe uſeleſs, I ſhould be the better able to deal with the Lower; or if both of them fall by their mutual Heats, I ſhall be a certain Gainer by their Deſtruction; or if the Commons once find that I am for them, it may further their paſſing the Teſt with more eaſe. The Biſhops I am ſure of in the Houſe of Lords, and of my Penſioners & high Churchmen in the Houſe of Commons; who I'm ſure will vote according to the Direction of the Court. The Cavalier's Conſcience is govern'd by the Biſhop, and the indigent Courtier muſt live by the Crown; ſo that both their Votes I may depend upon. The Phanatick

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THE Lords having made ſo much oppoſition to my Deſigns, it's my Intereſt now to gain the Commons, and own their Pretenſions againſt the Privileges of the Peers: for if by this means I could render the Upper Houſe uſeleſs, I ſhould be the better able to deal with the Lower; or if both of them fall by their mutual Heats, I ſhall be a certain Gainer by their Deſtruction; or if the Commons once find that I am for them, it may further their paſſing the Teſt with more eaſe. The Biſhops I am ſure of in the Houſe of Lords, and of my Penſioners & high Churchmen in the Houſe of Commons; who I'm ſure will vote according to the Direction of the Court. The Cavalier's Conſcience is govern'd by the Biſhop, and the indigent Courtier muſt live by the Crown; ſo that both their Votes I may depend upon. The Pha-

natick I can take off by hopes of Liberty; ſo that I ſhall only have the ſtaunch Countryman to oppoſe me, and it's hard if I be not able to weather the Point againſt him.

But my Deſigns are ſtill very apt to miſcarry; and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with others of the Country Lords, have got ſo much Influence on the Humours of the Nation, that my Project, I fear, will certainly fail: Their Arguments for preſerving the Rights of the Lords as an eſſential Part of the Government, and a neceſſary Check on aſpiring Monarchs, are ſo popular and taking, that they charm the Vulgar, who are made to believe that the Upper Houſe is their chief Security for the peaceable Enjoyment of their Rights and Properties, which may be otherwiſe deſtroyed by partial Judges, who depend on the Court for their Honours and Preferments, and are conſequently influenc'd by them in their Sentences. However, I am obliged to the good Will of the Biſhops, who do herein behave themſelves like true and loyal Subjects, and adviſe the Lords to quit their Pretenſions, though thereby they lay themſelves open to Laſhes, as concurring to deſtroy that Government; the Preſervation of which for ever, without any endeavour of Alteration, they did ſo much preſs to have the People ſworn to: but herein they act con-

conformable to their great Principle, that Monarchy and the Lineal Succeſſion is of Divine Right, and not being the Creature of Man's Conſtitution, ought not to be ſubject to humane Limitation, but to God alone, from whom it has its Being. The Lords, however, are deaf to all Inſinuations, either from the Danger of a Rupture with the Commons or me at this Juncture, which puts me under a Neceſſity of proroguing the Parliament, and rather to hazard the Loſs of the Teſt, than the Quiet of my Government: for I find that Kings have always been Loſers, whenever they came to a War with their Barons and People; and I am not without Reaſon to think that this Debate betwixt the two Houſes is rather fomented to obſtruct the Teſt, than out of any Kindneſs to my Prerogative, which is ſufficiently evident from the inconſiderable Subſidy which the Commons have voted me.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LV.

*On the Meeting of the Parliament after the Prorogation. His Majesty's Demand of Money to build Ships. The Commons insisting upon the Bill for a* Habeas Corpus: *Against sending Men Prisoners beyond Sea: Raising Money without Consent of Parliament; Against Papists sitting in either House: For the speedier convicting of Papists, and recalling his Majesty's Subjects from the French Service; and the Duke of* Buckingham's *Speech for Indulgence to Dissenters.*

HAving, during this Interval of Parliament, taken sufficient Care to insinuate the Danger of open Rebellion, such as that in 1641. if the Parliament persist in their late Methods, and to make all those who refuse such Sums as I think best to desire, odious to the Church as Presbyterians, I thought fit to let them meet again, to try whether this Method had had any Influence on them, or if the last Prorogation had any way cool'd them. But though the Money which I desired was to strengthen my Fleet for the Honour of the Nation, which I concluded that they would the more easily grant, because in the

the former Session they complain'd that the French were grown stronger than us at Sea; yet still I meet with a Repulse; and instead of Money am answered with Complaints and Libels against my Administration. By withholding of Money they make me unable to give Rewards; and now they are about depriving me of the Power of inflicting Punishments: By their Bill of *Habeas Corpus* they would deliver Criminals from the Irksomness of long Imprisonments at home, and yet will not agree that they should be sent Prisoners abroad. They are, moreover, so stubborn, as to deny me Money for support of the Monarchy, and yet will not suffer me to raise any without their Consent. Now their Fears of Popery and Slavery come upon them afresh, which with redoubled Clamours they send abroad into the Country, to inspire the Mob with their own Sentiments, and fill the Nation with endless Jealousies. Hence come their Bills for disabling Papists from sitting in either House, by which they would rob me of the Assistance of my best Friends. Nor are they content to stay there, but they are also for having them speedily convicted and punish'd, according to their sanguinary Laws, which in my time shall never be granted. Nor do their Designs rest here; but as they will not allow me an Army at home,

they

they are now for my calling back ſuch as I have abroad, being afraid that they ſhould learn too much of the French Methods of an undiſputed Submiſſion to the Dictates of their Prince. All thoſe diſloyal Practices are fomented by Diſſenters and others, who are of Antimonarchical Principles, for which in time I hope for a Revenge; and at preſent am reſolved to give them a Diverſion, by reviving the Quarrel betwixt them and the Lords; and while they are hot in the Conteſt about their own Principles, they will remit their Violence againſt the Papiſts, and forget the Kindneſs which they intended to Diſſenters; for I have always obſerved this in their Temper, that when they were kind to the one, they were ſevere to the other; and when any Man is diſguſted with that which they call Tyranny in the State, and Concurrence with it in the Church, they ſtrait have an Inclination to favour the Phanaticks and Republicans. How could it have happened elſe that the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe Father was a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of the Faction, ſhould now make Harangues for an Indulgence to Diſſenters? So that I plainly perceive that all the Enemies to the Glory of my Crown, do neſtle themſelves amongſt that rebellious Herd. Yet herein at leaſt I ſhall reap an Advantage, that the Church will

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more cordially eſpouſe my Quarrel, and oppoſe ſuch Cauſes as are favoured by their Enemies, whoſe Bodies in due time I ſhall bequeath to the Gallows, whilſt the Clergy pretend to ſend their Souls to Hell.

## CHAP. LVI.

*On the Motion for an Addreſs by the Houſe of Lords for diſſolving the Parliament. The Addreſs's being caſt out by the Majority, and the Proteſtation of the Country Lords thereupon.*

HOW unhappy is it for a Monarch to be tied up to the Humours of his People? and thus it muſt be ſo long as Parliaments have any ſhare in the Government, and till the Prince be made Abſolute by the Power of the Sword. I thought to have rendred my Parliaments inſignificant, and altogether uſeleſs to the Ends for which they are choſe; and by continuing this Parliament ſo long, had well nigh effected my Deſign, having brib'd moſt of them to change their Intereſt, and taken ſuch Methods as to make not a few of them change their Religion; ſo that inſtead of acting according to their Original Commiſſion from the Country, they were wholly

wholly led by the Dictates of the Court: but now an evil Spirit of Contention having ſeiz'd upon the Lords, they begin to controul me, as *Conſiliarii nati*; and thoſe whoſe Intereſt it is to keep the Government ſteady, and therefore move to have this Parliament diſſolv'd, becauſe they can no more be called the Repreſentatives of the Country, ſeeing they have their Dependance wholly upon the Court, and don't vote according to the Mind of thoſe that choſe them: So that they are in the ſame Deſign with my ſelf to ſwallow up the Peoples Liberties, provided they may have ſome Court-Preferments. The Lords do alſo inſiſt upon the frequent Calling of new Parliaments, which they alledg from the Records to have been their ancient Privilege, and plead the Preſcriptions of many hundreds of Years. What pity! that all thoſe Monuments of Rebellion ſhould not have periſh'd in the great Conflagration, that they might never have riſen up in Judgment againſt me; but ſeeing they are extant, and ſo violently urg'd, I'll do the beſt I can to divert their Force. I can inſinuate to the Commons, that theſe Proceedings of the Lords are not the Effect of any Zeal for the People, but merely a Deſire of Revenge upon the Lower Houſe, for their late controverting of their Privileges; and an Averſion that any Com-

Commoner, by his Service to the Crown, ſhould merit an Advancement to a Dignity equal with their own: By theſe and ſuch other Arguments as I can ſuggeſt, I doubt not to have the preſent Houſe of Commons on my ſide. And ſuppoſe it true, that they are not the real Repreſentatives of the Nation, as having forfeited that Title, by going contrary to the Peoples Intereſt and Inſtructions; yet the very Name of their Concurrence adds Credit to my Conduct: and I doubt not but abundance of the Members who have found the Sweets of the Privilege of the Houſe, which protects them from their Creditors, and many times confirms their Titles to Eſtates by Preſcription, becauſe while they are Parliament-men they are ſecured in the Poſſeſſion; I ſay I have no reaſon to doubt but ſuch Men will be againſt a Diſſolution. It was a wiſe and commendable Practice in my Predeceſſor *Henry* the VIII*th*, to make Parliaments long-liv'd, for by that means he had the Opportunity of making them for his purpoſe, and left a happy Precedent for his Succeſſors. Let the Murmurers grumble as much as they pleaſe, and object the Cuſtom of holding Parliaments thrice a Year before the Conqueſt, and the Act of *Edward* III. that Parliaments ſhould be holden once a Year, or oftner, I am not tied to thoſe antiquated Rules:

Rules: If those Kings did not know the Extent of their own Prerogative, I am not therefore obliged to allow any Intrenchments on mine. But since *Henry* the VIII*th* could protract the Duration of a Parliament beyond its former Length, and the Customs of his Predecessors, I may certainly be allowed to exceed the Examples of my Predecessors since his time, especially having the Clergy on my side, who have preach'd up the Prerogative higher than ever it was in former times, and will defend my Practice by the Authority of their Gods. But I am not to be so easily drawn from what's my Interest by the Allegations or Addresses of some factious Lords; for it's my Wisdom to foment the Misunderstanding betwixt them and the Commons as much as I can: and if I could but once bring them to have a mutual Distrust of one another, and possess the Commons with an ill Opinion of the Arrogance of the Lords, and their incroaching too much upon the Privilege of the Members, who knows but it might procure such a Surrender to me as that which was lately made to the King of *Denmark* by his People, who could not bear with the Contempt shewed to them by their Nobles, and therefore did all of a sudden devolve the whole Power upon the King, and render him Absolute? Or if no such thing should happen,

happen, yet by making the Houſe for my purpoſe I can with the more Eaſe attain my Deſires; and if once the Commons were brought to comply, the Popiſh Lords, Court-Lords and Biſhops, will eaſily caſt the Vote in the Upper Houſe. But let things go as they will, I am ſure of this one infallible Method; I can poſſeſs the Clergy, by means of the Biſhops, that if this Parliament be diſſolv'd, the Mitre and Crown are both in danger; and then all thoſe who are Enemies to my Deſigns ſhall be threatned with Hell and Damnation, as oppoſing themſelves to God's Ordinance, to which they ought to be ſubject for Conſcience-ſake. And on the other hand, I am very ſure that thoſe Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, who have ſpent ſome hundreds and thouſands of Pounds for the Advantages which they had a Proſpect of enjoying by being Parliament-men, will never ſubmit willingly to a Diſſolution, nor be content to put themſelves to the hazard of a new Choice: And I am ſure of my Penſioners, for their Uſefulneſs to themſelves and me both ceaſes with their not being Parliament-men; for as in that caſe they cannot do me any Service, ſo neither can they tell where to have Subſiſtence.

I have had the good Fortune to put a Check upon thoſe factious Lords, and to

throw out their Addreſs by the Majority of Votes, in which the Biſhops were all on my ſide, ſo happily are the Intereſts of the Church and Crown united. Hence I find the Advantage of diſſembling a Zeal for Religion, though in my Heart I believe the whole to be a Cheat; for my profeſſing my ſelf to be the grand Patron of the Church of *England*, ſets all the Clergy at work for me; and they having the Conduct of the Peoples Conſciences, are uſeful Tools for any Sovereign.

The Country Lords have proteſted againſt the Votes for rejecting the Addreſs, and inſerted their Reaſons in the Journals of the Houſe, but it ſignifies nothing, ſeeing they have loſt their Cauſe; however it ſhall remain as an Indictment againſt them: and now that I have their Names as my Enemies on record, I ſhall take care on occaſion to treat them as ſuch, and make them odious to the Country, by charging all the Miſcarriages and Heats in Parliament, and conſequently the Obſtruction of whatever might have been advantagious to the Publick, upon them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LVII.

*On the filling of the Benches with* durante beneplacito *Judges. The publishing of some Books in favour of the Papists and Prerogative. The French King's letting loose his Privateers amongst the English Merchants: And the sending of Ammunition from his Majesty's Stores to the French King.*

HAving been hitherto unsuccessful in my Attempts of following French Counsels, raising a Standing Army, bribing Parliament-men, and contriving Oaths to swear the People into Arbitrary Government, I must try some new Methods, and endeavour to carry on my Designs by Shadow of Law: for which end it is necessary that I make a Reform amongst my Judges, and instead of granting their Commission *ad vitam aut ad culpam*, will make them hold them by a new Tenure of *durante beneplacito*, by which they will be bound to their good Behaviour, and not dare to disoblige me, but give out my Will as the Oracles of the Law, and then I can effect that by a Shadow of Justice which is not so safe to attempt by Force: and when all Causes come to be decided by Favour in

Court, I ſhall deſpoil my Enemies, and enrich my Friends, which is the ſureſt way to increaſe them; for I have ſufficient Experience of the Inconvenience of Judges who keep ſtrictly to the Rules of the Law, and therefore ſhall take care now that Judg *Hales* is dead, that none of Puritanical Education and Principles ſhall henceforth fill his Chair: And thus when I can by Forms of Law diſpoſe of my Subjects Lives and Eſtates, I may perhaps find my Judges as uſeful as a Standing Army, and worm my ſelf by degrees into Arbitrary Government, by Methods leſs odious, and not ſo perceptible.

I do alſo find it neceſſary in order to the taking off of that general Diſguſt which the People of this Kingdom have imbib'd againſt Popery, that ſome Authors be incourag'd to write ſmoothly on that Subject, and inſinuate a Difference betwixt the Court and Church of *Rome*, that the latter is not chargeable with the Miſcarriages of the former; and that an Union amongſt Chriſtians is highly deſireable. And in the ſame manner I muſt take care to reconcile the Minds of my Subjects to the Prerogative, and brand thoſe who oppoſe it as Men of ill Deſigns and Principles.

But ſeeing the Non-compliance of my Subjects with the Meaſures which I take, may pro-

probably iſſue in a Rebellion, it will be my Wiſdom to ſecure a Place of Retreat, to take care before-hand, that I may be made welcome, and order it ſo as the French King may have Effects of my own wherewith to maintain me if the worſt ſhould happen, and be in a Condition to reſtore me, in caſe I ſhould be expell'd; for I am reſolv'd to take Warning by my Father's Fate, and either to ſtoop to invincible Neceſſity, or provide againſt the ſevereſt Lot which may befal me, and not to quarrel with my Subjects without good aſſurance of Foreign Alliance, and while they are rich, and have Arms and Ammunition: Therefore I ſhall order it ſo that the French King may interrupt their Commerce by his Privateers, and ſeize their Ships, Men and Goods, which will humble them: And in the mean time when they addreſs to me for Relief, I can excuſe my being unable to defend them, ſeeing they are ſo backward in giving me Money to rig out my Fleet: and that I muſt not upon the Miſcarriage of Privateers break the Friendſhip betwixt the two Nations, conſidering the great abundance of Male-contents which are at home, and the Improbability of my receiving any Aſſiſtance from abroad, now that the Parliament by their frequent Clamours of the Deſigns of the Court to introduce Popery and Slavery, had

rendred me ſuſpicious to Foreign Proteſtants. However, that they may not ſuſpect my Concurrence with the French in this Affair, they ſhall now and then have Orders for my Reſident at the French Court to demand Satisfaction; but if they have it, it ſhall coſt them ſo dear, as to make them quickly grow weary of that Method. This indeed may ſeem unnatural for a Soveraign to concur with a Foreign Prince to rob his own Subjects, but in my Heart I think they deſerve no better; their Prieſts have from the Mouth of their Divine Oracles preach'd up the Prerogative, and Greatneſs of my Power, that my People were created for me, and not I for them; that their Lives and Fortunes are at my Command, and yet they allow me no Power in either; ſo that it's but reaſonable they ſhould ſmart for their damn'd Hypocriſy; and it's juſt, ſeeing they will not allow me to take it with my own Hand, that I take it from them by the Hand of another. Their Riches and Fulneſs of Bread gives them occaſion to be idle, and leiſure to concert their Meaſures of Rebellion; to prevent which Poverty is the ſureſt Method: And in the mean time the French King allows me to go Sharers with him in the Profit, which my Enemies call by the ignominious Name of a Penſion. But ſeeing my Subjects and their Fortunes are my

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Property, what reaſon have I to give an Account to any how I treat them. And ſeeing I am not to own that I have any legitimate Heirs of my own Body to ſucceed me, why ſhould I not make my Life as pleaſant as I can; which being impoſſible without Money, it's but reaſon that I ſhould uſe my own Methods to come by it, ſeeing my Subjects are backward to grant me what I need.

But I have yet a ſtronger Reaſon for this kind of Procedure, the Catholicks having taught me that it is lawful to kill, by neceſſary Conſequence it muſt be much more lawful to impoveriſh my Heretical Subjects, and put them out of a Condition to withſtand the Reintroduction of that Religion which they pretend will merit a Crown in Heaven: And if there be any ſuch Place or Reward, I know no other way how I can deſerve it; for rather than take ſuch Methods to obtain it, as Proteſtants think needful, I had better want it. Let thoſe who have a mind to pull out their right Eyes, and cut off their right Hands, do ſo if they pleaſe, I'll keep mine as long as I can. And ſeeing, according to the Catholicks, the *Opus operatum* is ſufficient to carry me to Heaven, I need not be ſo ſcrupulous nor nice about the way; it being reaſonable that Kings ſhould be allow'd a broader Path than others: And that ſeeing

we are God's Vice-gerents on Earth, he ſhould afford us a more commodious Paſſage than ordinary to Heaven. And that I may the better deſerve it according to their Doctrine, I ſhall not only take care to furniſh *Lewis* XIV. the great Champion of the Catholick Church, with an Opportunity to enrich himſelf with the Treaſures of my Heretical Subjects, but alſo ſupply him with Arms and Ammunition from my own Magazines, as I have already taught him the way of building Men of War, and improving his Naval Strength, that if I be not able to effectuate the great Deſign my ſelf, he or his Succeſſors may do it when I am dead; for I find that it will never be practicable by any Engliſh King without very powerful Aſſiſtance from abroad. I know that my Meaſures are condemned, my Deſigns ſuſpected, and Liſts of the Ammunition and Arms which I have ſent to *France*, under pretence of ſending them to *Jerſey*, handed about: But I have this Advantage, that my Enemies are not united; and they who are moſt zealous to oppoſe me, rendred ſufficiently odious to the Church and their Party, who being countenanc'd by my Authority, are much the ſtrongeſt, or at leaſt able enough to keep the reſt under Hatches: And while they contend againſt each other, I obtain the Victory over both. I have, however, not only

only ſecured my ſelf a Place of Retreat and Royal Maintenance, in caſe of my being overcome by my Subjects, ſhould there happen a Rupture, but I have alſo weakned the Magazines of the Nation, and provided ſufficient Arms and Ammunition for my ſelf to equip my French Auxiliaries, and aſſert my Right, or at leaſt have furniſh'd the French Catholicks with Weapons againſt my Heretical Subjects at their own Expence. And if the Church-of-*England*-men ſhould murmur againſt this Procedure, it's but a ſmall Degree above what was done by my Father, whom they have canoniz'd for a Saint and a Martyr; it being well enough known that he aſſiſted the French King with his Men of War againſt his Hugonot-Subjects of *Rochel*; which, conſidering the Claim that the Kings of *England* have to the Crown of *France*, is much the ſame with what I have now done: So that they cannot condemn me without condemning him; nor condemn him without condemning themſelves.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. LVIII.

*On the Meeting of the Parliament after the long Prorogation,* Febr. 1676. *His Majesty's Demand of Money, recommending a good Correspondence to the two Houses. The Question whether the Parliament was not dissolv'd by that unprecedented Prorogation: Sending some Lords to the Tower for insisting on it. The granting of Money by the Commons.*

THE Greatness of my Expence requiring proportionable Supplies, and my Returns from *France* not being sufficient, I must once more adventure on a Session of Parliament, not doubting but my Pensioners will for their own Interest gratify my Desires. I know that this long Prorogation is beyond all Precedent; but I think that I have the best Authority to make one of any Body, and I am furnish'd already with a very plausible Pretence, that such a long Recess was absolutely needful to allay so great a Heat as happened betwixt the Houses last Sessions. But however, that the Honour of the Nation lying at stake, I found it necessary to call them together for a Supply to enable me to rig out my Navy, on which so much of our Strength and

and Reputation depends. The March of my Brother the French King, with his Army into *Flanders*, I know will alarm and make them apprehenſive of their own Danger, which will probably induce them to part with Money for their own Defence.

But I perceive that my Difficulties are not quite over, for now both Houſes begin to queſtion my laſt Prorogation, and think that it was really a Diſſolution; yet the Commons I find the moſt tractable of the two, becauſe there my Penſioners are moſt numerous; ſo that they have paſs'd it over, and fall to their Buſineſs: but the factious Lords I find ſtill more obſtinate and daring; inſomuch that they offer to maintain, that the laſt Prorogation was illegal, and contrary to all the Laws of Parliament, even before the Judges; and are ſo confident, that they demand to have their Opinion in it: but though I can rely upon their Determination, yet I don't think fit to gratify the oppoſite Faction ſo far, eſpecially ſeeing I am ſure of the Majority in any Queſtion, by the Influence of the Court-Lords and Biſhops; and therefore their Impertinence in falling foul upon my Prorogation, as a thing without Precedent, ſhall be puniſh'd by an Impriſonment in the Tower, of the ſame Nature, which I ſhall order ſo, that it ſhall appear to be the Act of their Fellow-

low-Peers, and not mine. And thus the Ring-leaders of the Faction, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earls of *Salisbury*, *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Wharton*, ſhall have time to conſider of the Queſtion in their Confinement; and by this Means others will be deterred from the like Boldneſs; and the Freedom of Debate, which hath been hitherto claim'd and allow'd in Parliament, be viſibly infring'd, of which there is an abſolute and very great Neceſſity; and now more than ever, when ſome of the Members have had the Impudence to upbraid the Houſe to their Face, that a great part of them are Out-laws, abundance Papiſts, and no ſmall number Penſioners: And though I cannot but commend the Prudence of my Friends in the Houſe, in not ſending the Authors of ſuch ſcandalous Reflections to the Tower, becauſe they know them to be true; yet ſuch things muſt be prevented if poſſible, otherwiſe I and my Government ſhall fall into Contempt. However, my Penſioners were rather willing to bear this Affront, than to do any thing that might make their Diſſolution or Prorogation neceſſary; and that they may ſhow themſelves worthy of my Allowance, have granted me Money, and that very frankly, without an Appropriating Clauſe: So that I am at liberty to ſpend it how I pleaſe. And as they

they have been generous in their Grant, they have been no leſs as to the Terms, having quitted all their other Pretenſions for an *Habeas Corpus* Act. And thus I find the Advantage of having thoſe who depend upon me choſen for Parliament-men, though I be at the Expence of their Election my ſelf: For what Privy-Counſellor is there that will not juſtify the moſt Arbitrary Proceedings of the Council-Table in the Houſe, rather than loſe his Place in Council? and repreſent all the Proceedings of State to the Advantage of the Crown, rather than loſe his Prince's Favour? What Lawyer is there that will not put a favourable Conſtruction upon the Sentence of the Judges, rather than be ſubjected to the Frowns of the Bench, or excluded all Hopes of mounting it himſelf? What Captain of the Fleet or Navy but will be for the maintenance of a Standing Force, as knowing that he cannot otherwiſe have a ſtanding Pay? Or will he not rather defend the Procedure of his ſuperiour Officers, than hazard the loſing of his Commiſſion? And will he not be ready to declare his Abhorrence of that traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſionated by him? What Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe is there that will not rather give the Court a Vote than loſe his Commiſſion? Or which of

my

my Domeſticks will be ſo bold as to vote againſt me in Parliament? And therefore I am reſolved never to part with my Privilege of having thoſe who depend upon me choſen for Parliament-men, that being the moſt effectual and leaſt obnoxious Method that can be taken to render my ſelf Abſolute; for they are at the ſame time the Repreſentatives of the Country, and my Penſioners and Servants: and ſo long as they have vendible Souls, and have moſt from me, I need not doubt of their being on my ſide: and when others who are hungry perceive their Fellows to be not only treated with Money, but alſo at good Tables on the Charge of the Court, it will make them willing to take the ſame Meaſures, that they may enjoy the ſame Advantages. And in the next place I ſhall take care to have the Sheriffs modell'd to my purpoſe, and then they will determine the double Elections as I would have them: And if the injured Fanatick or Republican complain of the Sheriff, yet the Majority of the Judges can eaſily vacate his Fine. By this Means thoſe of my Party will always know their own Strength in the Houſe; ſo that the Intrenchments made upon the People will be judg'd the Affection of the Parliament-men to the Crown, and not be charg'd on my aſpiring Humour or Ambition. And I know

that

that a Parliament of ſuch a Conſtitution will rather do any thing than hazard my Diſpleaſure; and not dare to impeach any Man, becauſe they know their own Guilt: and ſo thoſe who are my Tools for promoting the Catholick Religion and Arbitrary Government, ſhall paſs unpuniſhed. But that the Nation may not perceive my Intrigue, and thereupon grow tumultuous, the Commons ſhall have leave now and then to talk of Grievances, and alſo to name thoſe who are the Inſtruments of them; but if they exceed their Bounds, they ſhall be kick'd from one Adjournment to another, chaſtiſed by Prorogations, and Abatements of their Penſions, and kept in obedience by Threatnings of Diſſolution. I have already ſome Experience of the good Effects of theſe Methods, for now they have voted me double that Sum for building of Ships that they thought ſufficient laſt Seſſions, and continued the double Exciſe upon Beer and Ale; and have taken care to make the Nation have a good Opinion of their being ſtill a legal Parliament, when ſo great a Number of the Gentry of the Nation are appointed Collectors of the Money which they have given.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LIX.

*On the Commons throwing out the Bill, intituled,* An Act for securing the Proteſtant Religion: *and another* for the more effectual Convicting and Proſecution of Popiſh Recuſants.

BY committing the factious Lords to the Tower, my Deſigns run on more ſmoothly in the Upper Houſe, inſomuch that thoſe Bills paſs'd them without any Oppoſition; but they have not had the ſame Acceptation amongſt the Commons, who have thrown out the firſt after once reading, and the ſecond in the ſame manner, with a Note of Diſgrace, as being contradictory to its own Title. I perceive that the Commons, though they don't love their Religion for Religion ſake, yet they have no mind to part with it becauſe of their Intereſt; for if Popery were introduced, Arbitrary Government would find its way more eaſy, and then they could neither be aſſur'd of their Places nor Penſions, ſo that I muſt contrive ſome new Method. But were I as happy in the Church-of-*England*-Laity as I am in their Clergy, there would be no need of ſuch Precaution; which makes

makes me ſmile at the Apology of the Commons, who are ſo very careful about the Credit of their Biſhops, tho they don't look upon their Concurrence with thoſe Bills to be any way hurtful to their Reputation. By this Method they diminiſh the Authority of their Church, and exalt their own Wiſdom above that of their ſpiritual Fathers, whom they believe to be appointed by Divine Right to overſee and take care of the Affairs of the Church. Nor can the Weakneſs of their Apology paſs without a Remark, that they ſhould think it worth while to excuſe them, as not being the Contrivers and Promoters; and yet own that they did not oppoſe thoſe Bills; nay, they plainly confeſs that ſome of the Biſhops were of the Cabal that hatch'd them. Certainly it can never be ſafe to intruſt one's ſelf in that Church which owns that her Guides are blind, or to commit one's Conſcience to the Direction of ſuch as don't know how to direct their own. But if the Commons had hit upon the true Reaſon of the Concurrence of their Biſhops, they would find it to have been becauſe the Mitres and Ceremonies, which is all that they mean by their Church, would be ſufficiently ſecur'd; though Popery were eſtabliſhed; and they being in preſent Poſſeſſion, might merit a Continuance by promoting the Catholick

Intereſt under-hand. Nor can I believe that the Commons don't perceive this, ſeeing the Biſhops advance ſuch Clergy-men daily who incline mightily to the Church of *Rome* in the Doctrine of Juſtification, which *Luther* their great Patron own'd to be *Articulus ſtantis & cadentis Eccleſiæ*; and yet they won't admit of one Man to enjoy a Benefice, who does not accept of Epiſcopal Ordination, and conforms to the Ceremonies, whence it's manifeſt and apparent that by theſe they underſtand the Church. And the Commons themſelves, though they ſeem now to differ a little from the Biſhops, yet make uſe of this Diſtinction to keep all but thoſe of their own Communion out of any Publick Imployments: And I am apt to think, that could they but ſecure their own Intereſt in a Change, as well as the Biſhops can do theirs, they would never make ſo much to do in oppoſing Popery, which I am convinc'd by my own Experience is a Religion beſt ſuted of any to ſuch as would live in thoſe Enjoyments which Preciſians call carnal Delights; and that the greateſt part of the Members are ſuch, I have reaſon to know, for I am ſure it has and does daily coſt me Money. And hence I conclude that it does not proceed from any Religious Principle that the preſent Houſe of Commons do ſeem

more oppoſite to have a Popiſh King than the Biſhops.

## CHAP. LX.

*On the Addreſs of the Commons concerning the Danger from the Power of* France, *and their Progreſs in the* Netherlands: *His Majeſty's Anſwer. Its not being thought ſatisfactory by the Commons, who preſented a ſecond, to which his Majeſty delay'd giving Anſwer; and the Cauſe why. His demanding of Money when he did anſwer. Their giving* 200000 l. *and Adjournment, with the Cauſe of it.*

MY Subjects are now upon another Scent; and from the Affairs of their Religion and Property at home, are come to conſider of the State of Affairs abroad. I could be very glad that they ſhould have forborn any ſuch Motion, but ſhall take proper Methods to render it ineffectual. The Phanaticks and Commonwealth's-men do ſtill foment Jealouſies; and having put Checks upon my Deſigns at home, they are now for curbing my Allies beyond Sea, and putting a ſtop to the French Conqueſts. The *Netherlands* being look'd upon as the natural Barrier,

of *England*, I must not positively refuse to assist them, but shall form such plausible Pretexts as will excuse my Delay. And in the mean time, though I cannot go on with my part of the Design, the French King may go on with his. However, I have promised them to use all Means in my Power for the Safety of my Kingdoms; but that does not satisfy, and therefore they presented me with another Address, wherein they not only petition as becomes Subjects, but boldly direct, as if they were Masters; by which they do manifestly entrench upon my Power of making Peace and War. By proffering to assist me to the uttermost against *France*, no doubt they think they have acquitted themselves bravely, though it is no more than what in Duty they are bound to do, let me be engaged in what War I please. But seeing they press so much for my making of Alliances with the Dutch, *&c.* and to make an actual War with *France*, I must give my Friends Instructions to argue against it in the House, from the Inconveniences which may attend it; as the seizing of our Ships and Effects by the French, which will afford them a Million to carry on the War; that they will ruine our Plantations abroad, disturb our Trade by their Capers; that they are better provided both of Ships

and

and Ammunition than we; that if we ſhould engage in a War with the Dutch, they would ſlip the Coller by a ſeparate Peace; and that it's not poſſible to make any firm Alliance with thoſe of ſuch different Principles and Intereſt as the Emperor and Princes of *Germany*. But I find that the other Party are not ſo eaſy to be put off: They pretend not to preſs me to make War, but to make Leagues to prevent War; that now is the critical Seaſon to prevent the growing Greatneſs of *France*; that the ſame Inconveniences will happen as to our Trade, if the War be not begun till three or four Years hence; that we may as well defend our Plantations and Sea-Trade as the Dutch can do theirs; that it's the Effect of the Male-adminiſtration of this Reign, that the French are ſtronger by Sea than we; that the Dutch and German Princes will be as firm in their League with us, as they are in that with one another; and that the Dutch would aſſiſt us in ſuch things for our Fleet as we were defective in; that the want of a Trade with *France* would rather be an Advantage than otherwiſe to the Nation, becauſe their imported Goods, which we could live without, do exceed what we export to their Country a Million *per annum*; and that my ſelling of *Dunkirk*, and making War on the Dutch in 1665. hath contributed

to their over-grown Greatneſs; and abundance of ſuch ſeditious Reflections. However, I teſtify my Contempt of them by a profound Silence, until I find a convenient time; and mean while, by the Intereſt of my Penſioners and Servants in the Houſe, I have got ſome Money to further my Deſigns, according to my Demand.

My Fate is chequered with Variety of Fortune: The Succeſs of the French againſt the *Netherlands*, where they have taken ſome Towns, and defeated the Prince of *Orange*, will imbolden me to carry it with the more Authority againſt my refractory Subjects, and give a plauſible Pretence for demanding more Money, elſe I cannot be in a condition to defend them againſt ſuch a powerful Enemy. And whereas they may alledg that the 200000 *l.* which they have lately given, is enough to ſupply my preſent Occaſions until ſuch time as they meet again, I can anſwer, that that Sum is otherwiſe applied: ſo that the Country ſhall not be able to ſee into the true Reaſon of their Adjournment at this Juncture, but will probably be induced to believe that it is becauſe of their having denied me Money; and during their Receſs I ſhall have leiſure to entertain the ſpendid Embaſſy which is coming hither from my Brother of *France*, and concert ſuch Meaſures

as

as may either render all ſuch factious Divans, as Parliaments, wholly uſeleſs, or at leaſt order it ſo as I ſhall not be ſo much ſubject to their capricious Humours: but by this ſeeming Difference betwixt them and me, the Nation will be brought to have a good Opinion of this preſent Houſe of Commons, who will thereby have the better Opportunity to gratify me, and deſerve their Penſions; and therefore I made a Demand of 600000 *l.* which I knew they could not grant, that they might have an occaſion of refuſing it, and at the ſame time afford me one of adjourning them with a plauſible Pretext.

## CHAP. LXI.

*Upon the Duke of* Crequis's *arriving from* France *with a great Train, and meeting his Majeſty at* New-market. *The Affairs treated of there. The meeting of the Parliament again. Their inſiſting upon a League with* Holland; *and his Majeſty's Anſwer.*

HAving adjourned the Parliament, I muſt now make ready to meet the French Embaſſy; and *London* being a Place where there are too many Spies upon my Actions, I deſign to chooſe *New-market* as the fitter

Place; there we may confer with more Freedom and Security, and adjuſt Matters better to our Mind. I know that my mutinous Subjects will load this Conference with many aggravating Reflections; but if I can carry my Point, I ſhall not value that. My Brother of *France* I know will plead for the Continuance of my Subjects in his Service, becauſe they have not a little contributed to the Glory of his Arms: and he will alſo inſiſt on the Abolition of all Claims on the account of the Prizes which his Subjects have made of mine, and other things of that Nature, which ſhall be granted according as I find him liberal in his Supplies of Money. Thoſe Demands, eſpecially the latter, are fit to be made, that the private Agreement betwixt him and my ſelf may be conceal'd: and for the other, it muſt alſo be regulated by my own Intereſt, and that of the Deſign which we carry on in conjunction; for by a firm Union betwixt us, we ſhall add Strength to our common Endeavours, and may in time bring things to a happy Concluſion: But ſeeing I have no Reaſon to deſpair of effecting my part by a Form of Law, conſidering what Party I have in both Houſes, I will prepare to entertain the next Seſſion of Parliament, and contrive Arguments to make them liberal of their Fellow-Subjects Purſes, which

will

will be the moſt effectual Method that I can think of to accelerate my Deſigns.

The Parliament being now met, I have renew'd my Demands of Money, becauſe they alledg that it was not according to the Methods and Rules of Parliament for them to grant me any more at the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſions, when the Houſe was ſo thin: but that Objection being vacated by their meeting now in a full Body, it might have been thought that they ſhould have fallen upon the Money of Courſe; but inſtead of that they inſiſt again upon an Alliance with *Holland*, as the only mean of withſtanding the French: By which I perceive that the Phanatical Jealouſies gain ground; they are not ſatisfied to have me declare War my ſelf, but they would yoke me with the Dutch, who will be ſure to inſpect my Conduct ſeverely, and then I muſt act againſt *France* in good earneſt. I find that all the Objections that I can make, as that ſuch a League would alarm the French, if imparted before made; and that ſuch things are of great Conſequence, and require time to be concerted, are eaſily ſeen through; and the Commons having taken Umbrage from the extraordinary French Embaſſy, alledg that my Brother of *France* and I underſtand one another's Minds; Wherefore I find it neceſſary to ſend

for

for the House, and in a publick Speech assure them, on my Royal Word, that my calling them together was not only a Design to get Money, as some do insinuate; and tell them positively, that I will neither hazard my own Safety nor theirs, by declaring against *France*, or leaguing with the Dutch, till they supply me with Money to act and speak as I should; and that therefore it will be their Fault and not mine, if their Security be not provided for. By this means I shall amuse the Publick, and prevent the general Disgust of the Nation. And if I can but preserve my Honour with the People, I shall despise the Reflections of particular Men; for herein I think *Saul* acted truly like a Monarch, that though *Samuel* had denounced the Anger of God against him for disobeying his Commands, he was not in the least solicitous about that, but pray'd that the Prophet would honour him before the People: he took care of his Concerns for this Life, let it fare with him as it would for what was to come. But to what I say my self, my Friends shall have Instructions to add, the Right of making Peace and War is in me alone; that if they with-hold Money, I will neither declare War, nor make Leagues; that I have already exhausted my own Treasury in rigging out 44 Ships of War to preserve their Trade, and con-

convoy the Merchants, and yet the City of *London* is so ungrateful as to refuse me Credit for 200000*l.* and therefore if my People perish, it's their own Fault. Those Suggestions will be readily imbib'd, and diligently improv'd by the Courtiers and Clergy, and then let my Enemies insist as much as they please upon the Necessity of shutting the Door towards *France*, else our Treasure and Trade will creep out, and their Religion and Tyranny creep in: I am sure to have the Advantage of them when my Dictates shall be delivered from the Pulpits once *per* Week, as the Oracles of Heaven. And thus I shall make void all their Efforts for lessening the Power of *France*, which I perceive they dread, as carrying with it the Bane of their Heresy and Republican Principles; and therefore it's as necessary for my Design, that the Power of the French King be kept up, as it is necessary for theirs that it should be brought low.

I am unhappy, that notwithstanding of all my Pensions an Address for an Alliance with the States, *&c.* should be carried in the House, and have but two Negatives against it, especially considering that they alledg it to be unprecedented to grant any Money till the Wars and Alliances for which they are demanded be signified in Parliament; which plainly

plainly implies their Diſtruſt of me, that though I ſhould have the Money, yet I would not anſwer their Addreſs; which is ſo miſchievouſly compoſed, and ſo ſtrongly back'd with popular Reaſons, that it ſeems to be calculated for poſſeſſing the Subjects that I would never ſuffer the French King to increaſe his Strength ſo much, to the manifeſt Hazard of my Kingdoms, if I were not engaged in the ſame Deſign with him. I do alſo perceive that the Allegations of my Friends in the Houſe, of their intrenching upon my Prerogative, by directing me with whom to make Alliances, is nothing regarded, but their Practice defended by former Precedents of Parliaments, who have not only adviſed to Alliances, but alſo confirm'd them, as in the Reigns of *Edward* III. *Richard* II. and *Henry* V. *&c.* And though my Penſioners were more ſerviceable in voting againſt the Manner and Words of the Addreſs, than formerly that there ſhould be one, yet they are worſted by a conſiderable Majority; ſo unhappy is it for a King to depend upon the Humour of his Subjects, which is as unconſtant as the Waves of the Sea, and liable to the Toſſings of every Wind; for however complaiſant they have formerly been, yet now they are all on a fire again about Popery and *France*: So that I find my ſelf under a Ne-

Neceſſity of cooling them by an Adjournment, and checking them by a ſevere Speech for intrenching on my Prerogative of making Peace and War, in ſuch an unprecedented manner, while King and Parliament were not at mutual Enmity. By which they would ſeem to claim a Privilege not only of directing me what Alliances to make, but alſo to inſinuate, that it were not in my Power to make any without their leave; ſo that I ſhall be look'd on by Foreigners as a King merely in Title. I ſhall alſo take care that their Proceedings ſhall not dare to appear in print. Whereas my Speech ſhall publickly proclaim their Diſloyalty; and the Speaker being made to my purpoſe, I ſhall hinder the Commons from debating the Adjournment, or diving into the Intrigues of the Court; for if ever they begin to meddle in it, he ſhall have Orders to quit the Chair; by which the Houſe muſt break up of Courſe: and then the French ſhall have liberty to purſue their Conqueſts without Interruption by the Clamours of my Heretical Parliament; who, as alſo thoſe that they repreſent, ſhall be duly chaſtis'd in time convenient.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXII.

*Upon the Prince of* Orange's *Arrival at* Whitehall, *and Marriage with the Lady* Mary, *eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of* York. *The Addreſs of the Commons thereupon; and their inſiſting upon the Alliance with the Dutch, and War againſt* France.

THE ſafeſt and moſt ſecure way of ridding ones ſelf of an Enemy, is to ſmite them under the fifth Rib, while they imbrace them on pretence of Kindneſs. And as *Charles* the IX*th* of *France*, and Queen *Katherine*, contriv'd the Deſtruction of the Proteſtants under the Covert of a Marriage with their Chief the King of *Navar*, I may carry on the like Deſign by matching my Niece with the Prince of *Orange*. *Saul* gave his Daughter *Michal* to *David* to be a Snare to him: Nor is it out of any Kindneſs to my Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that I do now marry him upon my Niece. He hath not hitherto behaved himſelf ſo like a dutiful Nephew, as to deſerve ſuch a Favour, having not only been the chief Support of the War againſt the French, but incouraged the Dutch boldly in their Wars againſt my ſelf. But it may

may be this Match may take him off, or at leaſt will afford me an Opportunity of attempting it with more Vigour and Frequency than hitherto. However, let the Succeſs as to that be what it will, this Advantage I am ſure of reaping from it, that my Proteſtant Subjects will be thereby pleaſed; and their Jealouſies, as to my Deſign of introducing Popery and Arbitrary Government, abated: ſo that being the leſs ſuſpected, I ſhall go on with the more Succeſs, and forward my Purpoſe. My Parliament, I perceive, are pleas'd with this Alliance, and have therefore ordered me an Addreſs of Thanks; yet their Fears and Jealouſies are not ſo much quieted, as to leave me at freedom from their Solicitations, but ſtill they inſiſt on my not admitting any Treaty of Peace, by which the French may be left in poſſeſſion of any thing that they have taken ſince the Pyrenæan Treaty; and confine their Promiſes of Support to my making a War with *France*. How happy are unlimited Monarchs, whoſe Will is their Law, and whom their Subjects dare not controul? but my Stars have not yet bleſſed me with any ſuch Influences. I cannot imagine how this phanatical diſcontented Humour hath got ſo much the Aſcendant of this, which was once a Loyal Parliament; or that my Penſioners and Friends ſhould come

come so far short of their wonted Devoirs? Perhaps the late Checks which they have met with by my Speech and Adjournments, have given them some Umbrage to suspect that they are not long-liv'd; and therefore they would now endeavour to recover their Credit with the Country: They discovered before, by the Motions which some of my Friends made of impowering me to raise what Money I pleas'd upon extraordinary Occasions, that I was grown weary of Parliaments themselves, and that my Bounty to them would cease with their Usefulness to me, and therefore are taking care to make their Fortunes another way; and so run out violently for a War with *France*. I must humour them a little to further my own Ends, and pretend to be for such a War, that I may once get their Money, and then I can lay it out which way I please. I shall also make an Advantage of it another way, by obliging the French King to open his Coffers, on pretence that I must otherwise comply with my Parliament. And by this Means I shall be sure to have Money one way or other. If the Commons must be gratified with a War on *France*, it's but reasonable that it should be carried on at their Expence, and therefore I will demand no less than a Million. I know that my Pretences of Alliances with the Dutch,

Dutch, and Agreement to the Prohibition of a Trade with *France*, will be irresistible Arguments to carry my Demand; and those I am resolv'd to improve to the utmost.

## CHAP. LXIII.

*On the raising of an Army, on pretence of a War with* France: *The modelling of them. The sending of Duke* Lauderdale *to* Scotland, *to bring down an Highland-Army upon those Parts of the Low-lands which were most Presbyterian. The private Treaty with* France. *The Discovery of it by the Commons. Their Address to his Majesty to dismiss the French Ambassador. Their Vote in* May, 1678. *That the King be desired to enter into Alliance with the Emperor, King of* Spain, *and Princes of* Germany. *His Majesty's Answer. Their second Address against Duke* Lauderdale *and other Ministers; and Vote to give no Money till they were secured from Popery and Arbitrary Government. The Treaty of* Nimeguen, *and the Behaviour of his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries there.*

THE Parliament having given Money; it remains for me to improve it: and that they may be induc'd to believe that it

ſhall be applied to the Ends for which it was given, an Army ſhall be rais'd, but ſuch as I hope will put me in a Condition, that I ſhall ſtand in no more need of Parliamentary Supplies. The principal Poſts in Church and State are already ſo well fill'd with Perſons ſuted to my Deſigns, that I can ſcarcely have better. And now I muſt take care to model the Army; to have moſt of the Souldiers, if poſſible, compoſed of ſuch Men as are either Catholicks, or but Proteſtants in Name; and the Officers, in like manner, either altogether Catholicks, or ſuch who by taking the Teſt to qualify them for their Office, may nevertheleſs advance the Catholick Cauſe: for which Reaſon I am happy in the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, it being ſo framed, that moderate Catholicks may eaſily comply with it. The Army being form'd, my next Care muſt be how to get them paid, for the Money granted by the Parliament will quickly be conſum'd upon them and my neceſſary Pleaſures: and therefore ſeeing the French King and Catholicks preſs me to the furtherance of their reſpective Deſigns, it's highly reaſonable that the ſame ſhould be carried on with their own Money. I having done my part in being at the Expence of raiſing an Army, they are obliged to maintain them: and if to the

300000 *l.*

300000 *l. per annum*, which the French King is obliged to pay towards it, the Conclave of *Rome*, and the Catholicks in *England*, will contribute their Shares, the Work will be done, and I ſhall no more ſtand in need of ſuch tumultuous Divans as Parliaments, who inſtead of granting me Money, which is their only Province, do dive into my Counſels, and obſtruct my Meaſures. It will render me obnoxious to Diſcovery and Cenſure, to keep a Correſpondence with *France* and *Rome* in my own Perſon, and therefore I think it adviſeable to do it by my Brother, who can better keep the Pope and Cardinal *Howard* to their Promiſe than I can do: and if the Buſineſs ſhould happen to be perceiv'd, he being a Subject can eaſily make his Eſcape, and retire a while till I weather out the Storm.

That I may prevent as much as in me lies all Impediments of what Nature ſoever, I have alſo taken care to put *Scotland* out of a Condition to oppoſe me, as remembring very well that the Presbyterians of that Nation were the firſt who made head againſt my Father; and therefore I have conſum'd the Subſtance of the richeſt and moſt phanatical part of the Kingdom, by bringing down an Army of Popiſh Highlanders to take Free Quarter upon them; for which the frequent

and numerous Meetings of the Presbyterians hath furniſh'd me with a Pretence, I having taken ſuch Methods, that either they ſhould have no Meetings at all for hearing Sermons by their own Miniſters, or be obliged to meet in the Fields, and not in Safety there neither, except they put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence; and if they do that, I carry my Point, and have a fair Opportunity of charging them with Rebellion, and taking my Meaſures againſt them accordingly. I am alſo ſecure as to the meeting with any Obſtruction from *Ireland*, having indulged the Papiſts in that Kingdom ſo far as they have got the Aſcendant, and put ſuch Men in all Places of Power and Truſt as are ſincere and cordial for my Deſigns: ſo that I had no Reaſon to deſpair of bringing things to a good Iſſue, if the Influences of my Stars, which are always malignant, had not diſcovered my private Treaty with *France*, and rais'd a new Ferment of Jealouſy amongſt the Commons, who upbraid the Court for want of Sincerity; that at the very time when they talk of an actual War, they ſhould enter into ſecret Treaties with their Enemies. And hence I am importun'd by another ſeditious Addreſs, that I ſhould immediately proclaim and declare War againſt the French King, recal my Ambaſſador from his Court,

and

and diſmiſs his from mine. So that notwithſtanding of the ſevere Check which I gave them by my Speech the laſt time that they preſum'd to give me ſuch Directions, they perſiſt ſtill in the ſame Method. And to expoſe me to my Subjects, in revenge of my having expos'd them formerly in the Gazette for their Diſobedience, they have publickly declar'd that they have a Bill ready to aſſiſt me with Money if once I declare War, which they ſolicite me to undertake, that the French King may be ſo reduced as to be no longer terrible to my Subjects. And leſt the People ſhould not take notice of this Addreſs, they have voted another, wherein they preſs, that I may be deſired to enter into an Alliance with the Emperor, King of *Spain*, and Princes of *Germany*, and the Dutch. *Heu quantum mutatus ab illo!* What Difference is there betwixt a King newly inthron'd or reſtor'd, and one who has reign'd till his People are weary of him? Who would have thought that a Parliament which hath enabled me to trample upon their Brethren the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and puniſh them for their rebellious Practices and Principles, ſhould fall into the ſame Crimes themſelves for which they condemn others? What Difference is there betwixt the Scots Presbyterian Remonſtrances, and the Addreſſes of this Church-

of-*England*-House-of-Commons? Could any Fanatick libel my Administration with greater Severity than they have done? and yet upon the account of their opposing the same things in my Father which they themselves do now oppose in me. How have they endeavoured to load them with Reproaches, and render them odious to all Posterity, as Enemies to Monarchy? But seeing the Case is thus, I will pursue my own Measures; and instead of declaring open War against *France*, assist them with Provision and Ammunition under-hand, on pretence of supplying the *Isle of Wight*, &c. And by my Interest with the Pope's Nuncio, and the Catholick Princes concerned in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, will labour to have them accept of the French King's Proposals of Peace, and that will put an end to the Importunity of my Parliament for declaring a War against *France*. But for an Answer to their Address, they shall know that I don't value neither them nor it so much as to answer any thing of that Nature, without the concurrent Advice of the other House, which may perhaps throw a Bone of Contention betwixt them.

The Storm increases instead of abating; and now they address a second time to alarm the Nation, as if they lay under imminent Dangers from the Clandestine Practices of ill Men;

Men; and urge to have the Duke of *Lauderdale* removed from my Preſence; which they back with a Vote that they will give no Money till they be ſecur'd from Popery and Arbitrary Government: a terrible Alarm from the Repreſentatives of a Nation, who are look'd upon as the Preſervers of their Civil Liberties. I know no other way to remedy this Diſaſter, than by proroguing the Parliament to allay their Heat; and in the mean time take care to have my Proceedings juſtified from the Pulpits. Nor am I any happier in the French King's Friendſhip, he is far from being punctual or true to his Word, and by conſequence hath fail'd of giving me the 300000 *l. per annum*, which he promiſed. And I have another Evidence of the Miſchief that attends a King's being obliged to his Subjects for Money; that the French King does in an inglorious manner threaten to diſcover our private Treaties to the Parliament, and to create a Rupture betwixt me and my People, if I preſs him too hard. Had I the Purſes and Perſons of my Subjects at command, as he has his, I ſhould as little value his Kindneſs as he does mine: Or could I but have ſubdued thoſe irregular Paſſions which have enſlav'd my Soul with the Baits of ſenſual Pleaſure, I needed not have been oblig'd to him for Money. How-

ever, seeing Fate hath brought me into those Circumstances, I must do my best to get out of them as well as I can; and order my Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to retard the Peace, that by the prospect of a War I may draw Money from the Parliament. And the better to stop the Peace, my Plenipotentiary at *Nimeguen* shall have Orders to demand the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion throughout the Dominions of the States, which I know they will not grant; but by this Means I shall recommend my self to the Pope's Nuncio: and the zealous Catholicks, who seeing my own Forwardness, will solicite the Pope and Conclave of *Rome* to give me Assistance; and then perhaps I shall be able to carry on the Design my self, without the French King's Concurrence, and reap all the Glory alone.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXIV.

*On his Majeſty's acquainting the Parliament that there was a Peace in agitation. His Deſire to keep up his Army and Navy till it were concluded. The Reſolve of the Commons for ſupporting the King in the War againſt* France, *or provide for diſbanding the Army. His Majeſty's Anſwer thereupon; and the Commons continuing their Reſolution to diſband the Army, though the King deſired the contrary.*

THE Treaty of Peace being no longer to be conceal'd, I muſt now acquaint my Parliament with it; and becauſe I know they will be for diſbanding my Army upon it, I will urge for Reaſons to the contrary, the common Maxim, that it's beſt treating with Sword in hand, and therefore inconvenient for me to diſband my Army, or lay up my Fleet till the Peace be fully concluded. And ſeeing this cannot be done without Supplies, I muſt preſs for renewing of the additional Exciſe, and making up the Defect of the Poll-Bill; for the more I have of their Money, the leſs they will be able to rebel: and to render them as little ſuſpicious as may be of my

my Deſigns, I will offer it to their choice, either to provide for their Subſiſtence till a Peace be concluded, or to furniſh Money to disband them, with an aſſurance that whatever ill Men may ſuggeſt, my Deſigns were always levelled at the Publick Good. But let me take what Meaſures I can, the Jealouſies of my Parliament will never be quieted; and, to my Grief, I perceive that they ſmell my Deſigns, which are only to poſſeſs my ſelf of their Money, and keep up an Army to render my ſelf abſolute: They dread that the Souldiers will rather make themſelves Work than be idle; and therefore have reſolved that the Army is burdenſom to the Nation; that they will ſupport me in maintaining a War againſt *France*, or otherwiſe provide for disbanding them. Seeing they are ſo very hot, it's my Intereſt to cool them, which cannot be better effected than by a mild Anſwer; and to offer them as a Reaſon, that ſeeing hitherto the French King hath only granted a Ceſſation, and not a Peace, it's fit that I ſhould continue my Fleet and Army till the latter be agreed on, and in the mean time to preſs for Money for their Subſiſtence.

What a miſchievous thing is this horrid Suſpicion, which cauſes Men to pry into one another's Secrets, and obliges Princes to be on their

their Guard againſt their own Subjects! And yet though I carry it with all imaginable Secreſy, it's impoſſible for me to avoid being ſuſpected, and in a great meaſure traced: they whiſper about, that I never rais'd this Army with a Deſign to disband them; and being afraid that I ſhould have Money from *France* to maintain them, are reſolv'd to furniſh me wherewith to diſcharge them, though I have earneſtly preſſed for their Continuance. And thus it is to be a Soveraign by halves. However, it not being ſafe to controvert the Matter too far, I am reſolv'd to paſs the disbanding Act, but will obſerve it no further than ſutes my Meaſures. I am pretty well accuſtomed to Violation of Oaths, which have a degree of Solemnity beyond mere Acts of Parliament. The Money which they give to disband them, will ſerve for ſome time to maintain them; and then I may be otherwiſe provided, or make them at leaſt provide for themſelves, and earn their Bread before they eat it. It's ſtrange that I may not adventure upon that which *Oliver* the Uſurper did before me: He was ſo far from being check'd by his Parliaments, that he gave Laws to them by his Army; and why may not I attempt the like? And though I be ſworn to the contrary, yet may defend it as he did, by Reaſons of State, until ſuch time

as

as I arrive at that height of Power, as to make my Will paſs for a Law: But this is more eaſily hop'd for than effected. However, if I can handſomly weather out this Storm, it's not impoſſible to be brought to paſs.

## CHAP. LXV.

*On the relieving of* Mons *by the Prince of* Orange, *with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of* Monmouth *and the Engliſh Forces. The Defeat given to the French at that time; and their King's Complaint, that it was contrary to his Majeſty's private Articles. The concluding of the Peace: Recalling our Forces: Quartering them in the Country. His Majeſty's being in a Conſult with the Duke of* York, *Lord* Clifford, *&c. which was overheard; and the Perſon who liſtened kick'd down Stairs by the ſaid Lord.*

IT's ſome Comfort to have Fellows, though it be but in Affliction. The French King, who hath for a long time been on the top of the Wheel, is alſo liable to be turn'd downward, having lately receiv'd a conſiderable Check by the Defeat at *Mons*. This is a ſenſible Diminution of his Glory: But though at

at another time it would have been a joyful Hearing to the Kings of *England*, it is not ſo to me now, becauſe it's a conſiderable Balk to our common Deſign. There is alſo this mortifying Circumſtance in it, that the Laurels which are pulled off from his Head, are planted on that of the Prince of *Orange*; who, though my Nephew both by Birth and Marriage, yet I cannot cordially love him, becauſe he purſues Meaſures ſo contrary to mine. And though I cannot but in ſome meaſure be ſatisfied to hear of what may tend to the Honour of my own Child, whom I cannot but love by the Inſtinct of Nature; yet I could have wiſh'd he had been otherwiſe imployed, and that his Valour had been ſignaliz'd at this time, as well as at others, on the contrary ſide. Two ſuch promiſing Princes embarquing in the Proteſtant Cauſe, may prove fatal to the Intereſt of Popery and Abſolute Monarchy, if they be bleſs'd with a few more ſuch Victories as this: and that I muſt, in compliance with my own Inclinations, endeavour to hinder, leſt my ſtubborn Subjects ſhould make choice of the Son to chaſtiſe the Father, as it happened to my Predeceſſor King *James* III. of *Scotland*, whoſe rebellious States made his Son *Generaliſſimo* againſt him. I am alſo preſſed with another Difficulty, which is how to excuſe

this to the French King, who upbraids me with it as a Breach of the private Treaty, that my Son and Subjects ſhould fight againſt him: I can truly ſay, that neither the Duke nor they did engage in that Action with my Conſent; and that the thing is wholly owing to the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Conduct and Courage, I have reaſon to dread, will mar all the Deſigns which *Lewis* XIV. and I have ſo long concerted. This Diſaſter makes it neceſſary to conclude a Peace, and then we may contrive at leiſure how to retrieve it.

The Peace being concluded, I muſt recal my Forces, which now I perceive become grievous to the Spaniards; and I hope to imploy them to better purpoſe at home than ever they were abroad. Let the Phanaticks murmur and belch out their ſeditious Reflections upon my violating the Act for disbanding the Forces, I am Proof againſt ſuch Tongue-ſhot as theirs: I can find out a Pretence for keeping them ſtill on foot, as being neceſſary to over-awe the French, who being now at Peace with every body elſe, may reaſonably be thought to have Deſigns againſt me, as having firſt obliged them to the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, and now by my Forces have contributed to bring them to a Peace. Theſe Regiments being brought over from *Flanders*, will reſtrain the Tumults which I have reaſon

ſon to fear from the mutinous Humour in which my Subjects are at preſent; and in a little time I can augment my Army, if I had but Money. It's true, that in the late Conſult divers Expedients were propoſed for obtaining it, either from the French King, the City of *London*, or the Parliament: But to have it from the former can never be relied on; and if he ſupply me once, I am not ſure that he will do it a ſecond time, his own ambitious Deſigns having carv'd him out Ways enough for his Money: Neither is it ſafe for me to be ſo much obliged to him, leſt he ſhould at ſome time or other improve it againſt me, as he did lately threaten to diſcover our ſecret Intrigues to the Parliament, when we charg'd him with being worſe than his Word, and failing in the Money which he had promiſed for the common Deſign. I know the Ambition of his Heart inclines him to aſpire to the Univerſal Monarchy; and therefore I muſt be on my Guard againſt him. The Propoſal of borrowing Money from the City of *London* I know impracticable, they have already denied me Credit; and it's nothing but to render my ſelf too mean to deſire Money of them again. The Project of bringing them to it by Force were no more than what they merit, but the Conſequences may prove fatal to my Deſigns. The

City

City of *London* being the Head of the Nation, has a natural Influence on the whole Body Politick; and if the City be once enraged, I muſt not expect to have the Kingdom long in quiet: And I have the more reaſon to be cautious on this Head, becauſe the Loſs of the City was the Loſs of my Father's Life. It's true that my Lord *Clifford*'s Advice of declaring my ſelf bare-fac'd, and out-braving all Difficulties, were a thing very beſeeming a Monarch: but my Experience is greater than his; *Dulce Bellum inexpertum*, War is ſweet till it be tried. Had he three Crowns to loſe, as I have, his Courage would not be ſo great: for he that never enjoyed the Sweets of Life, does not know how to value them; but I have had Experience both what it is to want and poſſeſs them. I know that this Nation, though very well prepar'd by that which Phanaticks and Men of their Kidney call Profanity, is not yet ripe enough to imbrace down-right Popery. The Miſcarriage of the Father may very well ſerve as a Warning to the Son: He fell in an Attempt leſs obnoxious; and I have no great reaſon to hope for better Succeſs in one which is more diſpleaſing. The People are very well ſatisfied with as much of Popery as Queen *Elizabeth* left; and whoever deſigns to introduce more, muſt do it inſenſibly, by promoting ſuch

ſuch Clergy-men as are Well-wiſhers to it; bringing in Favourers of the Roman Catholicks into the Univerſity by ſide-Winds, and filling all Places of Power and Truſt with thoſe who are for the Deſign: But it is not ſafe for me to truſt my ſelf to the Conduct of ſuch furious Men as *Clifford*, who has not Prudence enough to govern himſelf. It can not be defended by any ſort of Politicks to treat a Perſon who is capable of divulging an important Secret in that manner, as he did the Gentleman who overheard us at the door, that being the very Method to have it made publick: and therefore though for the Conveniency which I ſhould thereby reap in the Adminiſtration of my Government, I could wiſh as well as he or any other, that Popery were eſtabliſh'd; yet ſeeing I believe that all Religion is the Contrivance of Politicians, I ſhall never hazard my own Quiet for any one ſort of it. As for the laſt Propoſal of getting Money from the Parliament, I am reſolv'd to try it, and muſt be preparing my Arguments before-hand to move them to grant it.

## CHAP. LXVI.

*On the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot in* Auguſt, 1678. *by Dr.* Oates *and others. The Deſign of the Jeſuits againſt his Majeſty's Life. Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey's *taking Dr.* Oates *his Depoſitions. The ſeizing of* Coleman, *Secretary to the Dutcheſs of* York, *and his Papers; and the murdering of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *thereupon.*

NEver was there any Prince ſo much expos'd to the Capricio's of Fortune as my ſelf: So that of all Men alive I am the leaſt obliged to offer Incenſe at her Altars. In my Youth I was expell'd my Dominions by Phanaticks and Enthuſiaſts; ſince my Reſtoration I have been continually perplex'd by the perverſe and ſtubborn Humours of the Church-of-*England*-men, though I reſtored their Diſcipline: and now my Life is ſought after by the Roman Catholicks, whom I have ſo much oblig'd in the whole Courſe of my Reign, even to the hazard of my Crown and Government. I perceive that my ſeeming Neutrality enrages the Bigots of all Parties againſt me: And hence the Jeſuits do now

ſeek

seek to dispatch me, because I am not willing to follow my Lord *Clifford*'s Advice, and go their pace. They promise themselves undoubted Success in their Designs, considering the French King's Power, my Brother's Zeal for their Church, and the Constitution of my present Army: and because I am not willing to push on further than I conceive is for my Interest, they are therefore willing to rid themselves of me. O ungrateful and mischievous Generation! I am now convinc'd that it's not without Reason that the Society of the Jesuits is hateful even to some Catholick Countries; and that their Motto, *Cavete vobis Principes*, is proper enough for them: yet such are my Circumstances, that I dare not testify my Hatred to their Order, because of their revengeful and vindictive temper. They who did not spare two *Henries* of *France*, though professed Catholicks, will never spare me who am esteem'd a Protestant: and therefore though I do not love them, I dare not avow that I hate them; for they are not only to be dreaded for their Courage but for their Conduct, which is very observable in this Particular. They know that I have all along kept down the Phanaticks; and therefore if they had succeeded in their Murder, would have fathered it upon them; and for this end have, by their Interest amongst my

Courtiers, got Mr. *Cleypool*, Son-in-law to the late Uſurper, committed to the Tower, as having had a Deſign againſt my Perſon. This they did reaſonably conclude would have obtain'd Belief amongſt the Vulgar, becauſe of the Diſgrace I put on his Father-in-law's Corps, and my Severity againſt the whole Herd of Diſſenters; and by this means the Church of *England* ſhould have been ſo inflam'd againſt the Phanaticks, that they would have done the Jeſuits Work to their hand, by ruining their Brethren, and ſo weakning themſelves. Yet thanks to my Stars I have eſcaped the Snare; and now being warned, can provide for my own Safety, though it will be a very hard Matter to eſcape their Fury: Nor do I know any better Method than by my Brother's Intereſt to aſſure them of being favourably dealt with, and make as if I did not believe the Accuſation. By this means I ſhall prevent thoſe Efforts of their Revenge which their own Preſervation may put them upon, if they think that I do really believe them guilty; for I doubt not but my Brother and they both will be ready to capitulate with me on theſe Terms, that they may enjoy my Protection againſt the Reſentments of the Nation, who are terribly incens'd by Dr. *Oates*'s Diſcovery, and the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, for taking

taking his Depoſitions. Nor am I indeed any further pleas'd with this Detection of the Conſpiracy than as to what concerns my own perſonal Danger; for my Meaſures were well laid to have effected what they do ſo violently deſire, but their Precipitance and too much Haſte hath ſpoiled all.

By Dr. *Oates*'s Treachery to the Catholicks, with whom he was engaged, it's eaſy to obſerve that Conſpiracies are dangerous, and that all Men are not to be intruſted with Secrets of State; for let Eccleſiaſticks of all Perſwaſions inculcate the binding Force of Oaths as much as ever they pleaſe, yet when it comes to their own turn, they break or obſerve them according as their Intereſt directs. The Danger of Conſpiracies may be further obſerved from *Coleman*'s Conduct; Princes had need to be well aſſured of the Fidelity of thoſe whom they intruſt with their Secrets. Could any Man have imagin'd that one in his Station ſhould have been ſo blab-tongu'd, or that he would not have been more careful to have conceal'd his Papers? It's for my Brother's Intereſt and mine both, that he ſhould ſuffer Death, though it's our Policy to feed him with Hopes of a Reprieve at the Gallows, leſt out of Revenge for our dropping him he ſhould diſcover what he knows. And tho the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* be bar-

barous, yet it's justifiable enough by Reasons of State, it's better that he should fall, than that the Crown should be made to totter, as it must certainly have done, if what *Coleman* had told him should have been publickly known: for I could neither in Honour nor Safety have abandon'd my Brother, which would both have endangered my Throne and Reputation, it being impossible for him to have been brought to a publick Trial, without a Discovery how far I am concern'd in the Plot. However, to prevent popular Tumults, which would certainly happen if none of those who are accus'd be brought to Punishment, I must seem to countenance the Prosecution of the Plot to prevent the Peoples having any Pretence for executing Justice themselves; which, by the great Multitude of Swordmen that attended Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Corps to the Grave, I may reasonably conjecture they have Inclination enough to do. And seeing these hot-headed Fellows who were intrusted with the Commission to kill him, had so little Prudence as to commit the Fact within the Verge of my Consort's Palace, it behoves me to give way to Justice against them, lest the World should think it had been contriv'd at *Whitehall*. And the time of the Parliament's Meeting drawing near, I must be very cautious how I take my Mea-

Meaſures, and contrive in what manner it's fit to accoſt them.

## CHAP. LXVII.

*On his Majeſty's Apology to the Parliament,* October 21, 1678. *for keeping up his Army. His demanding of Money; and acquainting them with the Plot, and Danger from Popery. The Vote of the Commons upon the Plot, and Orders to apprehend the Earl of* Powis, *and four other Popiſh Lords. Their paſſing of the Bill for raiſing the Militia; and his Majeſty's refuſing it. The Execution of* Coleman, *and ſome other Plotters of leſs note.*

THE Parliament being to meet, I muſt bethink my ſelf of an Apology for not disbanding my Army according to the Act. And ſeeing they inſiſted ſo much upon the Preſervation of *Flanders*, as the Barrier of this Nation, I muſt urge the Neceſſity there was of keeping them on foot for that end, and ſo turn their own Arguments againſt them; which will, by the Aſſiſtance of my Friends, draw a Vail before the Peoples Eyes; and at the ſame time this affords me a ſpecious Reaſon for demanding Money, as having

ſpent what they gave me laſt to maintain the Army. And if this ſhould raiſe Heats amongſt them, as I have Reaſon to think it may, I ſhall thence have a juſtifiable Pretence for proroguing them again, as deſigning a manifeſt Invaſion of the Rights of the Crown. And by this means I ſhall acquit my ſelf of my Promiſes to the Catholicks, in preventing a thorow Scrutiny into their late Plot; and give thoſe hot-headed Bigots, who intended my Death, a convincing Evidence, how neceſſary it is for them in their preſent Circumſtances to preſerve my Life: for if I ſhould happen to miſcarry at this Juncture, when the Kingdom is in a Ferment, on account of their Conſpiracy, it will certainly iſſue in the Ruine of their Affairs, and the perpetual Excluſion of my Brother from the Throne, his Enjoyment of which is the thing that they expect with ſo much Impatience.

But that I may the better ſcreen my ſelf from the Jealouſies of the Parliament, it's neceſſary that I ſhould inform them of the Popiſh Plot, and the Danger of my Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion, if they don't fall upon effectual means to prevent it. This cannot in Juſtice give any reaſonable Ground of Offence to my Friends the Catholicks, ſeeing I only diſſemble to do them the more Service. Nor have they any greater reaſon to be angry

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at my ſuffering ſome of the inferiour ſort to be cut off, and ſome of the chief ones committed, it being always good Policy rather to loſe a Part than hazard the whole. This I ſhall take care to impart to the great ones: and ſo long as I ſecure my Intereſt with them, I need not value the other.

The Commons, I perceive, are not to be diverted by a falſe Scent, as I did hope they would by my Apology for continuing the Army, and new Demand of Money, but are now very eager in purſuit of the Plot, and have voted it a damnable Deſign to root out their Religion and Government, have procured Warrants to apprehend the Earl of *Powis*, with the Lords *Stafford*, *Arundel*, *Peters* and *Bellaſis*; ſo that I muſt of neceſſity comply with committing them to the *Tower*, where I ſhall take care to keep them *in ſalva*, though not *in arcta cuſtodia*, and by that means ſave them from popular Fury. By my compliance in this I ſhall the better ſtave off the Odium of refuſing the Bill for raiſing the Militia, though the Commons have voted it as neceſſary for their Safety. And I can eaſily palliate my ſo doing under the Notion of a Tenderneſs for my Prerogative, which being an old Plea, can never be ſuſpected of being fram'd on purpoſe to favour the Plot, though at the ſame time I have no more Cauſe to repoſe

pose my self on the Fidelity of the Country, than they have to entrust me with a Standing Army. I have met with no such Encouragement of late from their Civil Representatives in Parliament, as to make me confide in their Military Representatives in an Army: The Militia of the Nation were never Friends to my Father; nor do I know what reason they have for a greater Respect to the Son. If I should gratify the Commons in this, I have reason to dread the Issue; for having been so bold as to libel my Administration when they had no Forces to back them, I have no reason to doubt but that they would advance a Step higher, if they should have an Army which they could depend upon. Let them exclaim against my Conduct, for denying to raise the Militia, though at the same time they are encompassed with an illegal Army, as loud as they can, I am to prefer my own Interest to their Humour, and will always value my own Prerogative and Pleasure above the Will of my Subjects, who were born for me, and not I for them, according to the Doctrine of their own beloved Church, which can never stand if Popery fall: and I doubt not but their Clergy will quickly have their Eyes open to see it; for whenever the Tide runs strong against Popery, their Bishops decline, and Dissenters are favoured: and whenever the

Stream

Stream is turn'd againſt the Phanaticks, the Mitres triumph, and Papiſts are encouraged: of which my Father's Reign and mine have afforded many incontrovertible Inſtances; and I doubt not but the Event will verify my having been a true Prophet.

Foul Water quenches Fire as well as that which is clean: and ſo the Death of ſome of the meaneſt Plotters will ſatisfy the preſent Reſentments of the People. And thus the greateſt of Cities will condemn their own Suburbs to Deſtruction in caſe of a Siege, ſo they can but ſave the Body of the Place. The Heathen Romans thought it their Honour to devote themſelves to the Infernal Gods to regain a Battel in hazard to be loſt; and why ſhould not the Chriſtian Romans follow their Example? Thoſe ordinary Fellows who have ſuffered on account of the Plot, will have more than a ſufficient Compenſation by a Place in the Roman Kalendar of Saints; ſo that they have no reaſon to upbraid me for ſuffering the Law to take place againſt them; ſince, according to their own Doctrine, their Martyrdom does not only merit a Releaſe from Purgatory, but the Enjoyment of Heaven it ſelf: And by the ſacrificing of *Coleman* I ſhall gain this Point, that the Vulgar will think I proſecute the Plot in good earneſt; whereas at the ſame time I puniſh him for his

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too great Freedom of Speech, and prevent his using the like for time to come. Nor can the Papists themselves blame me for it, when they consider how much I am expos'd in his Letters, which discover my Intrigues with *France* and *Rome*; and that he was so much a Fool as to have Copies of them by him.

## CHAP. LXVIII.

*On the Bill for excluding Papists from both Houses of Parliament; with a Clause, excepting the Duke of* York. *The Dissolution of the Parliament, as prosecuting the Popish Plot. The calling of another, and ordering the Duke of* York *to withdraw out of the Kingdom before they met. His Majesty's Speech to them, and Declaration, confessing his Error in governing by Cabals. His dissolving of his Privy-Council, and chusing another; whence the popular Members did quickly desire to be discharged.*

MY Pensions and Favours have been ill bestowed, since they are useless to me now in my greatest Strait. The Current of the House runs so strong upon the Plot, that I must find out some Method to stem the Tide. They are now so bold as to strike at my

my Brother, which is as much as if they ſhould bid me to look to my ſelf. I have gain'd one Point by the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhops and Court-Lords, that though the Bill to prevent Catholicks from ſitting in Parliament, was principally levelled againſt him, yet I have got a Clauſe added to except him: and though it's true that this is a declaring him a Papiſt to the World, yet the Reaſons for my doing ſo out-weigh the Inconveniences: for now the Catholicks will be the leſs preſſing upon me to declare my ſelf of their Party; when, beſides the Stratagem which I formerly uſed to make my Brother declare himſelf, by threatning that I would ſue for a Divorce, and marry another Wife, by whom I might have Children, I have now got his Religion declar'd in Parliament. But becauſe this will rather alarm than appeaſe the Nation, I don't find it convenient to continue this Parliament any longer, leſt they ſhould at laſt become head-ſtrong and ungovernable: And rather than be control'd by them, to whom I have given ſo much Money to ſo little purpoſe, I had rather have my Deſigns check'd by another, for I have but ſmall Hopes of having a better. But this Advantage I ſhall reap from the Diſſolution, that it will ſtop the farther Enquiry into the Popiſh Plot for a time, and give my Friends

Friends the Catholicks a Breathing, by which they may recover from their Conſternation, and take ſuch Meaſures as are beſt for their Intereſt. At the ſame time I ſhall have ſome liberty to enjoy my Pleaſures, for that's the way whither the Biaſs of my Soul inclines; and without diſſolving this factious Divan, I could neither have ſo well provided for my Brother's Safety, nor the Deſires of thoſe charming Beauties, in whoſe Careſſes I place my chief Happineſs; for I had rather repoſe my Head in *Venus*'s Lap, than be ſtrutting in the Field with *Mars*'s Helmet.

The Diſſolution of the Parliament at ſuch a Juncture, I know will render me liable to abundance of Cenſures; and, amongſt others, that I have done it to ſtifle the Diſcovery of the Plot: I muſt therefore take ſuch Meaſures as will ſerve me for a Shield againſt this Accuſation; which, together with the calling of a new Parliament, may be an Argument for me in the Mouth of my Friends. Nor can I think of a better Expedient than by ordering my Brother to leave the Kingdom for a time, but with all Aſſurances imaginable of my inviolable Friendſhip: And this, with the ſuffering of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murderers to be brought to Trial, will at leaſt blind the Eyes of the unthinking ſort, and make my Pretences of having diſſolved the Par-

Parliament on the account of their frequent Entrenchments upon my Prerogative, the more credible.

The new Parliament being met, I laid before them my Designs to unite the Minds of my Subjects; that in order thereunto I had excluded the Popish Lords from the Parliament, executed several of the Plotters, and Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murderers; that I had moreover disbanded as much of the Army as I had Money to do it with, and will disband the rest when they enable me; that, to take away all Subject of Cavil, I had discharged my Brother from my Dominions; and that I was ready to join with them in any good Laws against Popery: and, to drive the nail home, did plainly confess my having been formerly misled by Cabals, and declare my Resolution of governing henceforth by the Advice of my Parliaments and Privy-Council: and, to please them further, did choose such Persons for Members of the latter, as were known to be Zealots both for their Liberties and Religion. By this Method I quieted the Ferment in which the Generality of People were, and sav'd my self from a sudden and tumultuary Revolution; and at the same time my Friends the Catholicks had leisure to provide for themselves, and my Brother withdrew from the impend-

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ing Storm with Safety. But this I perceive was not durable, for the popular Privy-Counſellors finding that I only made uſe of them for the Credit of my Affairs, did quickly grow weary, and deſire to be diſmiſſed: and now my new Houſe of Commons inſiſting on the ſame Courſes which the former had taken, go on to impeach the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, and have voted a Bill to diſable my Brother from inheriting the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and to make this go down the more ſmoothly with the People, they aſſign, as the Cauſe of their Vote, that the Hopes of his Succeſſion hath been the chief Cauſe of this Conſpiracy for the Deſtruction of my ſelf, and altering the Government. By this Means they would poſſeſs the Kingdom with Fears of unavoidable Ruine to their Liberties and Religion, if the Duke be not excluded from ſucceeding to the Crown; and endeavour alſo to inſinuate their Loyalty in taking care for my Preſervation: but I have no great mind to truſt to their Friendſhip; their Predeceſſors in 1641. were as ample in their Proteſtations of Loyalty as they, and yet took up Arms by my Father's Authority againſt his Perſon, and never made any ſtay till they cut off his Head. I know my ſelf to be much more criminal in their Senſe than ever he was; and that my Con-

Concurrence in the Popiſh Plot can be demonſtrated with much more Eaſe than ever could his Commiſſion to the Iriſh Rebels: And I have no reaſon to doubt but they will think that a Concurrence with the Papiſts, to cut off the Engliſh Proteſtants, is a Crime of as heinous a Nature as that of deſtroying the Iriſh Proteſtants, and will certainly decree it as ſevere a Puniſhment; and therefore I cannot be blamed if, for my own Preſervation, I ſtudy how to give them a Diverſion.

## CHAP. LXX.

*On the French King's ſeizing ſeveral Places in* Flanders, *&c. as depending on thoſe which were confirm'd to him by the Peace of* Nimeguen. *His and the Spaniards Unkindneſs to the Duke of* York, *at that time, in the* Netherlands. *The Addreſs of the Commons to ſtand by his Majeſty and the Proteſtant Religion. Their diſbanding of the Army. The Diſcovery of Endeavours to make the Witneſſes of the Popiſh Plot retract their Evidence: And the proroguing of the Parliament upon their growing warm about the Trial of the Popiſh Lords in the* Tower.

THough I be unſucceſsful and incumbred at home, yet my Allie the French

King is fortunate abroad; and, like a true Politician, does order his Affairs ſo as to make himſelf a Gainer both by Peace and War: Whether he gives Obedience to *Mazarine*'s Dictates, as an obedient Son or tractable Scholar, I ſhall not determine; but ſure I am he puts his Commands in practice, and values Treaties no more than as they conduce to his Intereſt. However, it's more politick for him to ſeize thoſe Towns, as granted to him by Agreement under the Notion of Dependancies, than under any other Pretence whatſoever. And this I rejoice in, not only as it contributes to promote the common Deſign, but alſo becauſe I have the Practice of ſo great a Monarch, as an Argument for my own Conduct; and the Authority of ſo great an Eccleſiaſtick as Cardinal *Mazarine*, to juſtify me in point of Principle. But however well pleaſed I am with this Matter, I cannot be ſatisfied with his Treatment of my Brother, who is a kind of Exile for following his Dictates, and therefore deſerved kinder Entertainment at his hand: but I ſmell his Deſign, he is unwilling that his civil Reception abroad ſhould extinguiſh his Deſire of returning home, becauſe he knows that his Preſence is neceſſary here to confirm the drooping Catholicks, and keep Life in his Party; for I know that he is jealous leſt I

ſhould concur with my Parliament, rather than admit of an Interruption of my Pleaſures. As for the Unkindneſs of the Spaniard, it is no Surprize; for whatever Goodwill they have to the Advancement of the Catholick Intereſt, yet they are angry at us, for promoting that of *France* in oppoſition to theirs. And ſeeing the Caſe is ſo, I am reſolved that my Brother ſhall return home.

But I muſt firſt rid my ſelf of this Seſſion of Parliament; the Commons being ſo much overacted with Zeal, that they have preſented me with an Addreſs, wherein they promiſe to defend my Perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, and to revenge any Violence that may be offered to me. They exclaim'd formerly againſt the Scots Covenant for meaſuring their Endeavours, to defend my Father, according as he ſtood up in defence of their Religion, and now they themſelves run into the ſame Error, though the great Doctors of their Church pretended to teach and believe that Loyalty was an eſſential Point of their Religion: for now they join the Defence of my Perſon and that of the Proteſtant Religion together; which is as much as to ſay, that if I don't concur with them in the defence of the one, they will take no Care for the defence of the other. Then as for the revenging of any Violence that may be offer-

ed to my Perſon, I know what they aim at, but can provide for the defence of my ſelf better than they, or at leaſt in a way more agreeable to my Deſign. The Catholicks are not ſuch Fools as to cut me off now, for that were the way to ruine their Affairs, ſeeing my Brother's Intereſt is not yet eſtabliſh'd; ſo that I have no Fears on that Head yet. Neither have I any reaſon to truſt their fair Promiſes now that they have deprived me of the Defence of an Army which was modelled to my Mind: Beſides, it's below a Monarch to own that he needs the Defence of any one part of his Subjects againſt another, when he himſelf is born to defend the whole. However, I muſt ſubmit to the Humour of the Multitude; and ſeeing I can neither have Money from *France* nor them to maintain my Army, I can the more eaſily diſpenſe with having them disbanded: And by conceding this Point I ſhall put ſome ſtop to the Jealouſies of the Nation; and my proroguing the Parliament to ſave the Popiſh Lords, whoſe Trial the Commons do ſo earneſtly demand, will be of ſo much the eaſier Digeſtion. And by this Favour to the Catholicks I ſhall engage them more firmly on my ſide; for the Intereſt of thoſe Lords, whoſe Preſervation depends on mine, will prevent Aſſaſſinations from the Bigots of their Party; and during

during the Recess of Parliament we shall have leisure to recover our lost Ground, and find out Expedients for taking off the Evidence of the Popish Plot that may not be so obnoxious to a Discovery as those which have been made use of hitherto, which have rather confirm'd than discredited the Belief of the Plot.

## CHAP. LXXI.

*On the Insurrection at* Bothwell-bridg *in* Scotland. *The sending the Duke of* Monmouth *thither to suppress it, which he effected. The Execution of several Presbyterian Ministers upon it: and the Execution of several Jesuits for the Popish Plot; and Endeavours to stifle the same by the Meal-tub-Plot, which prov'd abortive.*

HAD my Subjects of the Episcopal Communion in *England* been as true to my Interest as their Brethren in *Scotland*, my Affairs would have appeared e're now in a better Posture. The former are nothing so steady to the Interest of Monarchy and Episcopacy as the latter, which may easily be evinc'd from the Endeavours which the English Parliaments have used both to establish Liberty to Dissenters by a Law, and to limit

the Succeſſion and Adminiſtration of their Kings. My Epiſcopal Subjects in *Scotland* do, on the contrary, make no ſcruple to put my Commands in execution, though againſt the Letter of the Law; and by a juſt Severity upon their Brethren the Presbyterians, beyond what the Laws in their ſtricteſt Interpretation will allow, they have procured this Inſurrection, which happen'd very opportunely for my Affairs. By this means I have not only humbled the Presbyterians there, and ſuppreſſed their rebellious Field-Conventicles, but have a plauſible Pretence for making the Laws ſtill more ſevere againſt them; forfeiting their Eſtates to gratify my hungry Courtiers; cutting off ſuch of their Preachers as I have in my hands; and ridding the Country of ſo many rebellious Fellows as I have taken Priſoners; ſo that I ſhall be ſufficiently reveng'd on the peſtilent Hereticks for the Lives of ſo many of my Friends the Catholicks as they have cut off on account of the Plot, which I was obliged to give way to to prevent being ſuſpected thereof my ſelf.

I ſhall alſo gain this by the Scots Inſurrection, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, whom I imployed as General to ſuppreſs it, will be thereby rendred the leſs popular amongſt the Presbyterians in that Nation, and their Friends the Diſſenters and Republicans here: So that

if ever he attempt to aſcend the Throne, he will find it the more difficult, or at leaſt be made leſs capable of obſtructing the Deſign of introducing Popery, for his Zeal againſt which the Faction applaud him.

I ſhall alſo make this Improvement of that Phanatical Inſurrection, that it will ſerve to alarm the Church of *England*, and convince them of the reſtleſs Endeavours of the Diſſenters to overturn their Diſcipline and Government, and by conſequence make them the more apt to believe the Plots which ſhall henceforth be charg'd upon Phanaticks here to deſtroy the Government both in Church and State; which will be the beſt Expedient that we can think on to turn the Plot, which hath been proſecuted with ſo much Vigour againſt the Papiſts, upon their own Heretical Brethren the Diſſenters, from whom it's much eaſier to poſſeſs them with Apprehenſions of Danger, than from the Catholicks, becauſe their Intereſt is greater in the Nation; and that they have ſmarted by them more lately than by the other: And if I can do my Catholick Friends this piece of Service, as I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt but I ſhall, they may very well diſpenſe with my having ſacrific'd ſome of their Prieſts and Jeſuits, that I might with the leſs Suſpicion advance their Cauſe.

I thought that my Deſign of burying the Popiſh Plot in Oblivion, by fathering another upon the Presbyterians, could ſcarcely have miſſed taking effect, eſpecially when ſo dextrouſly managed by one of *Dangerfield*'s Parts; but the Fates are not yet propitious to my Endeavours, nor is the meaſure of my Croſſes entirely filled up. This Plot was ſufficiently well laid; and had thoſe Papers which were ſcattered in the Phanaticks Lodgings been but happily ſeiz'd, without ſuſpicion of any Tricks, the Presbyterian Plot would have paſſed for current, for I ſhould have been certain of having it trumpeted by the Clergy from their Pulpits: But ſeeing it hath prov'd abortive, I muſt take more care for time to come; and have no reaſon to deſpair of ſucceeding in ſome Attempt of the like nature, for I am ſure of having the Clergy on my ſide.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. LXXII.

*On the diſſolving of the Parliament,* July 12. 1679. *and calling another againſt* October 7. *The Return of the Duke of* York *in the mean time; and his being ſent to* Scotland. *The proroguing of the Parliament after their being choſen. The acquitting of Sir* George Wakeman, *and others of the Plotters, by the then Lord Chief Juſtice. The burning of the Pope,* &c. in effigie. *The preſenting of a Petition by the Citizens for the ſitting of the Parliament: and Abhorrence of Petitions preſented by others.*

THIS Parliament proving refractory as well as the other, I find my ſelf under a neceſſity of diſſolving them, for I am ſenſible that they will never be fit for my purpoſe. Perhaps the diſſolving of two ſuch Parliaments ſucceſſively may prevent the chooſing of another of the ſame ſtamp, and therefore I am reſolved to try the Experiment. In the mean time I can, with the more Safety, recal my Brother; for if the Parliament be diſſolv'd, there's none elſe that dare to ask the Reaſon why. And if any of the Council ſhall dare to mutter againſt it, ac-

according to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Example, they ſhall be certainly diſcharged as well as he.

The new Parliament is of the ſame Complexion with the old. Whence I perceive that the Contagion hath ſpread ſo broad and wide in the Nation, that all Ranks and Degrees of Perſons are infected: But ſeeing my Subjects are reſolved to be croſs, and chooſe ſuch Men to repreſent them in Parliament as thwart my Deſigns, I am reſolved to be as croſs to them, and prorogue the Parliament from time to time: ſo that if they are not like to anſwer my Deſign, they ſhall not have an opportunity of anſwering theirs, till I have taken ſuch previous Meaſures as I think fit for my purpoſe, and ſee whether I can have Money by any other Method. For which end I will try both *France* and *Rome*; and if neither of them anſwer my Ends, I ſhall have opportunity to attempt the buying off of ſome of the leading Members: And if that ſhould alſo miſcarry, I will ſend my Brother to *Scotland*, that he may be out of their way, for I am ſure of his being well entertain'd there by my Epiſcopal Council, who will order it ſo as to make him ſeem acceptable to the whole Nation: and that will ſtrengthen his Party here; and at the ſame time ſuch of his Friends as find themſelves

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preſſed by the Stubbornneſs of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, may find Sanctuary there under his Protection. I doubt nothing of the Zeal of the Scots Epiſcopal Party for his Intereſt, becauſe the Conſtitution of their Church makes them depend wholly on the Crown; and in that my Politicks prov'd very ſucceſsful, to have a Law for leaving the Government of their Church wholly at my Diſpoſal. Nor do I doubt but the particular Inclination which that Kingdom hath always evidenc'd to a Monarchical Government, and the ſingular Reſpect which they have hitherto ſhewed to *Fergus*'s Race, will have a conſiderable Influence on them, to preſerve the Succeſſion in the right Line. And during theſe Prorogations I ſhall alſo have the Opportunity of making the Engliſh Clergy to my purpoſe; and order it ſo, that my *durante beneplacito* Judges ſhall acquit ſuch of the Plotters as come to trial here; which will give a mighty ſtop to the Credit of the Conſpiracy, and be an Argument for the Nullity of the Plot from the Pulpits, when it's evident before-hand that it's disbelieved by the Bench, for the Colour of Juſtice adds very much Strength to any Cauſe.

The extraordinary Heat of the Rabble againſt Popery, and ſuch Proteſtants as concur with the Meaſures of the Court, makes

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it abſolutely needful for me to keep off the Parliament as long as I can: for ſeeing the Mob are ſo inſolent at preſent, as not only to burn the Pope *in effigie*, but ſuch alſo of their Fellow-Hereticks as are addicted to my Intereſt, it's more than probable, that if they were countenanc'd by the Authority of ſuch Parliaments as thoſe which I have had of late, that their Inſolence would not ſtop there; of which the Petition of the Citizens for the ſitting of the Parliament is no obſcure Indication: but that the Odium of hindring the Parliament to meet ſhould not lie wholly upon me and the Court, I have ordered it ſo, that a part of the Subjects have declared their Abhorrence of ſuch Petitions; which affords me a plauſible Argument for what I have done, ſeeing the Senſe of the Nation, as I ſhall take care to have that of my own Party eſteem'd to be, is againſt it as well as mine: And by theſe Abhorrences I have ground to conceive Hopes that my Deſign for engaging the Church-men on my ſide has actually taken.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXXIII.

*On the Court's being disappointed of receiving Money from* Rome *and* France. *The Meeting of the Parliament* October 22, 1680. *The Proceedings of the Commons against such Justices as obstructed Petitions for the sitting of the Parliament. The passing of the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of* York, *in the House of Commons,* nemine contradicente. *The rejecting of it by the Lords. The Trial and Execution of the Lord* Stafford. *The impeaching of the Judges. Their Denial of a Supply to the King. His Majesty's Message to them, and dissolving them, because of their Obstinacy.*

NO wonder that those who are avowed Enemies to my Designs should refuse me Money, when those who are zealous for the same, and promised Assistance both by Men and Money, do now fail me: that the Court of *Rome*, who compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, should deny Money when it is only required to propagate their Faith, may justly seem strange; but as for the French King's doing so, it's easy to conceive that he hath been thereunto influenc'd by Reasons of State.

it absolutely needful for me to keep off the Parliament as long as I can: for seeing the Mob are so insolent at present, as not only to burn the Pope *in effigie*, but such also of their Fellow-Hereticks as are addicted to my Interest, it's more than probable, that if they were countenanc'd by the Authority of such Parliaments as those which I have had of late, that their Insolence would not stop there; of which the Petition of the Citizens for the sitting of the Parliament is no obscure Indication: but that the Odium of hindring the Parliament to meet should not lie wholly upon me and the Court, I have ordered it so, that a part of the Subjects have declared their Abhorrence of such Petitions; which affords me a plausible Argument for what I have done, seeing the Sense of the Nation, as I shall take care to have that of my own Party esteem'd to be, is against it as well as mine: And by these Abhorrences I have ground to conceive Hopes that my Design for engaging the Church-men on my side has actually taken.

CHAP.

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State. It was his Intereſt to create Jealouſies and Diſcontents betwixt me and my Subjects, not only to prevent our uniting againſt him, but that both of us might fall as an eaſier Conqueſt, though it's horribly inglorious for him to take ſuch Methods. But why ſhould I ſay thus, ſeeing all the great Princes that ever aſpir'd to the Univerſal Monarchy did make uſe of Fraud as well as Force? However, during my Life I ſhall prevent his Deſign to cheat me of my Crown; and if I can carry on my Work without him, as it is the more hazardous, it will be alſo more glorious: and by the Diviſions which have from time to time been carefully nouriſhed amongſt my Proteſtant Subjects, I doubt not but in time I may obtain my Deſires without his Aſſiſtance.

The Parliament being met, they are as bad to the full as I ſuſpected, and tread in the ſame Steps with their Predeceſſors, and diſcharge their Fury upon ſuch of my Juſtices as obſtructed Petitions for their ſitting, and accuſe them as Betrayers of the Rights and Liberties of the People, becauſe they witneſſed their Zeal for the Prerogatives of my Crown. Nor does their ſeditious Procedure ſtop here, but they have unanimouſly voted a Bill for excluding my Brother from the Crown, cut off the Earl of *Stafford* for his Ac-

Acceſſion to the Plot, and impeach my Judges. The Fall of that Lord I muſt needs lament; but it is as venial for me to let him fall a Sacrifice to popular Vengeance, as it was for my Father to give up the Earl of *Strafford* to his rebellious Parliament, though he was much more neceſſary to him than ever this Lord was to me. But as for the excluding of my Brother, and impeaching of my Judges, I muſt never give way to it, for that would infallibly iſſue in the Deſtruction of my ſelf. My ſtubborn Subjects have depriv'd me of my Army, ſo that I cannot eſtabliſh my Authority by the Sword; and if I ſuffer my ſelf to be likewiſe bereft of my Judges, then I ſhall be utterly diſabled from carrying on my Deſign, either by Military Power, or the Shadow of Law. As to the Excluſion of my Brother from ſucceeding to the Crown, it can in no manner be admitted. And here I have a very good Plea againſt them: The Clergy have preach'd up the Divine Right of a Lineal Succeſſion; and if that be ſo, I can maintain my Argument by the Laws of God; and I doubt not but my Judges will give it out as the Laws of the Land. If I ſhould give way to his Excluſion, it would weaken my ſelf, for then my Enemies might reaſonably act with the greater Boldneſs againſt me, when they ſhould be in no

fear

fear from my Succeſſor to puniſh ſuch a Practice.

The Lords having thrown out the Bill by the Influence of the Biſhops Bench, is enough to juſtify me in the Eyes of the World; for why ſhould I conſent to the diſabling of my own Brother from ſucceeding to me upon the account of his being a Roman Catholick, when the Proteſtant Biſhops, who are the ghoſtly Fathers of their Church, make no Scruple to own his Right of Succeſſion, and teſtify their Hatred againſt the Bill? In this they have done me remarkable Service, and I doubt not but their Example will have Influence on the Clergy. But to prevent all Suſpicion, as much as is poſſible, that I have any Deſign to re-eſtabliſh Popery, I will ſend them a Meſſage, that I am ready to agree to any other Expedients for ſecuring them againſt it. And thus when I have made ſuch Proffers, and have the Biſhops and their Clergy on my ſide, it will look very preſumptuous in any Party whatever, ſo much as to whiſper a ſuſpicious Word of my Intentions. And if the Commons adhere tenaciouſly to their Bill, and refuſe to drop it, there's none who will dare to blame me if I diſſolve them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

*On the calling of another Parliament to meet at* Oxford, Febr. 1680. *The ſeizing of* Fitz-Harris *with ſeditious Libels, deſigned to have been lodged with Proteſtant Peers and Commons. The ſeditious manner of the* London-*Members going to* Oxford. *His Majeſty's Speech to the Parliament when they met there. Their Impeachment of* Fitz-Harris, *and Diſſolution.*

THE City of *London* being a perfect Neſt of Rebellion, it's reaſonable to give them a Mortification, by ſummoning the Parliament to meet elſewhere: and as *Oxford* hath been always ſignal for Loyalty, both to my Father and my ſelf, I will gratify that Place with the meeting of this Parliament, which will engage the Clergy more firmly on my ſide, eſpecially the young Nurſery which is now a breeding up there. And as by this Method I ſhall oblige my real Friends, it's probable that it may cool the Courage of my Enemies, eſpecially when they find themſelves at a diſtance from their factious Accomplices at *London*, and ſurrounded with my Souldiers and Guards at *Oxford*.

It is not without ſome appearance of Reaſon that my ſtubborn Subjects do boaſt of the Divine Care and Providence which ſeems to watch over their Perſons, Religion and Liberties; for not only the Plots of Catholicks againſt them have been diſcovered and baffled, but all my Deſigns of faſtning Plots againſt them upon the Government have miſcarried. The Diſappointment of this, which was managed by *Fitz-Harris*, may be of very ill Conſequence, if there be not care taken to prevent, or at leaſt baffle his Diſcovery, which he has been ſuch a Fool as to make now that he is taken. How unhappy have I and my Courtiers been in the Tools that we choſe to carry on our Deſigns: for every one of them have not only diſcovered whatever they were imploy'd in, but alſo who ſet them at work; which incenſes the Nation againſt the Court. But without attempting we can never be ſure of any thing; and it is ſome Satisfaction when we do miſcarry, to be able to ſay with *Phaeton*, *Magnus tamen excidit auſis.* This Deſign was conſiderable, though not ſucceſsful; for had the Plot but taken, and thoſe ſeditious Libels been found upon the Perſons to whom they were intended by the Penny-poſt, it would have afforded a plauſible Pretext for charging them with a Plot; and then I could have rid my ſelf of ſo many

many dangerous Enemies by colour of Law. The Commons are ſenſible enough of the Importance of the Deſign, and therefore have impeach'd *Fitz-Harris*, in order to have a full Diſcovery who ſet him at work, which to be ſure they would take care to publiſh through the Kingdom: but by my Intereſt in the Houſe of Lords I have got that Impeachment rejected; and the Heat of the Commons in this, together with the Poſture which the *London*-Members came in to the Parliament at *Oxford*, will furniſh Pretence enough for diſſolving them, it being altogether intolerable that Subjects ſhould put ſuch mutinous Affronts upon their Prince, as to diſtinguiſh themſelves by Badges in their Hats, with printed Motto's upon them, to inſinuate as if I had a Deſign to introduce Popery and Slavery. So that I doubt not but to make a good Improvement of this extraordinary Heat diſcovered by the Citizens, and can eaſily make it a ſufficient Ground-work to build a Plot on, that ſhall not be ſo apt to tumble down about the Ears of the Workmen, as thoſe which have hitherto been attempted; for here's Overt-act plain enough. It's not to be ſuppoſed that the Citizens and their Members did come in this poſture, without previous Conſultation: nor can it be thought that thoſe Lords and Commons

who have ſo frequently complain'd of my Adminiſtration publickly, and are ſo much incens'd now at my oppoſing their Deſign of excluding my Brother, ſhould never have talk'd about thoſe Affairs in private Cabals, and propoſe Expedients to deliver themſelves from that which they call Popery and Slavery, the two things of which they are ſo much afraid. And if I can but prove any ſuch Conſults or Conferences, as I need not deſpair of effecting it by ſome falſe Brethren of their own, let them extenuate the matter as much as they pleaſe, by alledging that it was no more than what was talk'd in Parliament, and agreeable to the Aſſociation propos'd by the Commons, according to the Pattern of that ſigned in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, upon the account of Jealouſies of the ſame Nature. I ſay, let them make thoſe and a hundred more ſuch Apologies, if I can faſten it upon them, I ſhall prove it a Plot, and puniſh them accordingly for it. And if I ſucceed in this, as I have no great reaſon to doubt but I ſhall, ſeeing the Judges are made to my purpoſe, it will not only juſtify all the Meaſures which I have taken hitherto, but alſo ſuch Severities as I may have occaſion to put in practice in time to come; for if once I get a Proteſtant Plot to be believed and fix'd upon thoſe Lords and Commons who have always been

moſt

moſt averſe to my Deſigns, and made the greateſt Clamour againſt the Court, then all that they have from time to time alledged of my Purpoſes to introduce Popery and Slavery, will be look'd upon as the effect of Envy, and a mere Contrivance for the better carrying on of their Deſigns to overturn the Government in Church and State. And if once I get but ſome of them convicted by colour of Juſtice, then I may charge the Deſign upon the whole Party with Confidence; and I am ſure to be ſeconded by the Pulpit and the Bench, whoſe Arguments againſt the Phanatical Plotters will have ſo much the more Weight, that the Parliament by their Influence would proceed to thwart me in the matter of the Succeſſion, which is unalterable by Divine Right, notwithſtanding of the fair Proffers which I made to them in my Speech, of concurring with the Trial of the Lords in the *Tower*, and hearkning to any Expedients by which the Proteſtant Religion might be preſerved, and the Monarchy not deſtroyed. And ſeeing the Fathers of their own Church do own their Loyalty to be an eſſential Part of their Religion, and Monarchy to be of Divine Right; and that rather than break the Chain of Succeſſion, they are content to have a Popiſh King, which the other Party think ſo dangerous to their Religion, I may

very well be excus'd to value the Monarchy and Succeſſion at leaſt as much as they; and I am ſure that I can't well value it higher, ſeeing it's apparent that they preſer it to their Religion, as probably thinking that to be the more diſputable Point of the two. And if it be ſo, as I have very great Reaſon to believe it is, I am the more confirm'd in my Scepticiſm as to all Religion; for that Monarchy is not thought to be the only Form of Government by Divine Inſtitution, is apparent enough, becauſe there are ſo many Republicks, both Proteſtant and Popiſh, which are all of them defended as lawful Governments, by the greateſt Doctors of both Churches. But ſeeing the Popiſh Clergy value their Religion above all ſorts of Government or Governours, as appears by their exauctorating Kings, and defending their Murder or Dethronement when they fall off to Hereſy, I have reaſon to conclude that they are the more ſerious of the two; and with the other Arguments which they urge as the Antiquity, Univerſality, and Infallibility of their Church, this is to me a ſtrong Preſumption that their Religion is the trueſt of the two, ſeeing it has evidently more Influence upon its Followers, of which it has alſo the greateſt Number, and amongſt thoſe a great many Men of undeniable Learning and Parts.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXXV.

### *On his Majesty's Declaration that the Duke of* Monmouth *was not lawfully begotten.*

HEre I find a mighty Struggle of Nature against declaring my Son illegitimate; but seeing I have got over those things which foolish Bigots reckon Divine, why should I stand upon that which is merely humane? It's known to the World that I have violated those Oaths which I made to God, then why should I scruple to deny that I was ever under a Matrimonial Vow to any Woman but Queen *Catharine?* I had rather be esteem'd wicked than weak, and have it said, that I was unchaste than foolish, as every one will conclude me to have been in doing as much as in me lay to sacrifice the Interest of my Crown to an impotent Passion, for a handsom Woman; and that for the Satisfaction of my present Desires I should have hazarded a Deprivation of all my future Dignities, by contracting such a mean Alliance as would not have excited the Compassion, but expos'd me to the Contempt of other Sovereign Princes. It's true, my Brother *James* may, for one reason, justly condemn me in his

Heart, becauſe I would not let him diſown his Match upon the Foreſight of my Reſtoration, though in ſtrictneſs he has no Reaſon, ſeeing our Circumſtances do ſo much differ. His Father-in-law would have reſented ſuch an Injury to the utter Diſappointment of my Return, if I ſhould have contenanc'd him in that Deſign; but there is no ſuch hazard in my Caſe now. And if he ſhould have any hard Thoughts of me upon that account, he's very ungrateful, ſeeing it is chiefly for his ſake that I do it, though at the ſame time I have alſo a Proſpect to the Merit, which according to the Roman Doctrine attends ſuch Actions as are done for the Advancement of the Catholick Church, that in caſe there be any ſuch thing as a future Reward for ſuch good Deeds, I may by this Means inſure it; and at the ſame time I revenge my ſelf on this undutiful Son, for aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who are my Enemies, and have all along oppos'd my Deſigns. Private Men do many times diſinherit their Children upon Diſguſts, and why ſhould not a Monarch have the ſame Liberty? My great Grandmother, *Mary* Queen of Scots, declared her Son, my Grandfather, a Baſtard, to prevent his ſucceeding her, becauſe he was educated in the Proteſtant Religion; and ſhe being enregiſtred as a Saint in the Roman

man Kalendar, it can be no Crime to follow her Example.

This Procedure may be alſo juſtified from Reaſons of State; ſeeing he is become ſo popular amongſt thoſe who are Enemies to my Government, they may perhaps take upon them to make him Head of a Rebellion againſt me, and think to juſtify themſelves by his Right of Succeſſion, and the Intereſt which he has to preſerve the Nation upon its true Baſis: So that the moſt effectual way to give a Check to any ſuch Deſigns, which I have Reaſon from his Circular Journies into the Country to ſuſpect may be *in embrio*, is to declare him illegitimate, which will leſſen his Reputation, ſeeing it will eaſily obtain Belief, that I would not declare him illigitimate, if it were not ſo, merely for the Credit of my younger Days, when I profeſſed ſo much Piety, that I may not be thought to have acted the Hypocrite from my Cradle.

CHAP.

## CHAP. LXXVI.

*On the Proteſtant Plot. The Trial and Execution of* Stephen Colledge. *The Commitment of the Lord* Howard *of* Eſcrick, *and the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *with his Trial and Acquitment. The* Quo Warranto *againſt the Charter of* London, *and other Corporations. The impoſing of Sheriffs upon the City of* London. *The Commitment of Sir* Thomas Pilkington *and Mr.* Shute, *then Sheriffs, for oppoſing it. The calling of a Parliament in* Scotland, *where the Duke of* York *repreſented his Majeſty, as Commiſſioner. The Teſt enacted there; and the Act for ſettling the Succeſſion upon the Duke. The Trial and Condemnation of the Earl of* Argile, *for explaining the Teſt; and his Eſcape.*

THE Parliament being now diſſolved, and I by Conſequence at liberty from ſuch an impertinent Check, it's convenient for me to carry on my Deſigns with all imaginable Vigour; and having found an opportunity againſt one of the Faction, who was a talkative meddling Fellow, I am reſolved to have him tried for High-treaſon at *Oxford*, ſeeing the *London*-Jury have acquit-

ted

ted him. Let the Faction complain of its being contrary to Law, and what elſe they pleaſe, it's for my Intereſt that he ſhould be cut off, to be a Terror to others, and gain Belief to the Plot: *Oxford* being a Place of noted Loyalty, I doubt not of having him found guilty there, ſeeing I have Evidences enough ready, who will ſwear treaſonable Words againſt him; and he being once convicted, it will not only reflect upon all the reſt who attended the *London*-Members to *Oxford*, but upon the Members themſelves, and the whole Party of Lords and Commons that countenanc'd the Bill of Excluſion. And I am certain of this Advantage againſt all of them, that the Church of *England* will be their Enemies, becauſe of the Favour and Inclination which they have evidenced to Diſſenters. And when *Colledge* ſhall be condemned by due Forms of Law, it will reflect upon the Sheriffs of *London* for having pick'd ſuch a Jury as acquitted him.

Having begun with *Stephen Colledge*, and been ſucceſsful in my Endeavours, I am now reſolv'd on higher Game, and therefore have caus'd the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Howard*, to be ſeiz'd as Ring-leaders of the Faction. It's true that I could not promiſe my ſelf ſuch Succeſs in *London* as I had in *Oxford*; but however in attempting it I have gain'd

gain'd thus much, that of the Crimes where-with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was charged, ſome will be believed; and his being acquitted in *London* will furniſh me with farther ground of Quarrel againſt the City, and countenance my *Quo Warranto* againſt their Charter, as to which I am ſure of the Sentence of the Judges: And if I could once but humble that Source of Rebellion, it would render the reſt of my Work eaſy throughout the Nation: And if the Charters of Corporations were once in my poſſeſſion, I ſhall be able to chooſe what Men I pleaſe to repreſent them in Parliaments, which will be no ſmall Advantage to my Deſigns. It is indeed a very bold and daring Attempt; but finding that hitherto my Proceedings have met with no Oppoſition by way of Arms, I have the more Encouragement to go on, eſpecially ſeeing I have got the Church on my ſide, who are happily alarm'd with the Inſinuations of their own Danger from the oppoſite Party: ſo that I doubt not of bringing this Affair to a happy Concluſion, by letting the hungry Church-of-*England*-Juſtices looſe upon the Diſſenters Eſtates, and giving thoſe of *Doctors-Commons* a full Power over their Conſciences and Purſes; by which means the Party will eaſily be prevail'd on to believe that my ſeizing of the Charters is only deſign'd

ſign'd to exclude Diſſenters from bearing any ſhare in the Magiſtracy of the Nation, or aſſiſting in the choice of Parliament-men: ſo that if once I get a Houſe of Commons modelled to my mind, I can eaſily make my party good in the Houſe of Lords; and then I or my Succeſſors may effectuate, by the Peoples ſeeming Conſent, what hitherto we have not been able to accompliſh. The City of *London* having behaved it ſelf ſo rebelliouſly, I am reſolv'd to be further reveng'd upon them, and to deprive them of their liberty of chooſing Sheriffs, for oppoſing me, in which ſome of the moſt Factious are already committed: And becauſe the Herd of Phanaticks did unanimouſly concur with them, I ſhall take care to have them duly proſecuted and puniſhed according as their Merits require.

My Epiſcopal Subjects in *Scotland* have acted their part, and evidenc'd a Loyalty without any Reſerve, having diſpens'd with my Brother's not taking of the Oath which was incumbent on him, as Commiſſioner, and ſettled the Succeſſion without any Scruple: They have, however, enacted a Teſt for the Security of their Religion, which I can eaſily aſſent to, for pleaſing of the Rabble, and furniſhing the Epiſcopal Party an Anſwer to the Reproaches of their Brethren

the

the Phanaticks, who alledg that they have no Zeal for the Religion which they profeſs. But though I am very well ſatisfied with my Friends Loyalty, yet in truth I cannot commend their Policy, that they ſhould not have taken more care to avoid ſuch plain Contradictions in their Teſt, as furniſh Objections againſt it, not only to the Phanaticks, but alſo to many of their own Party. It's true, they are the more excuſable, that herein they were out-witted by ſome of the oppoſite Faction; who, though they had a hand in the framing it, refuſe it themſelves: but I took care to have had the Earl of *Argile* beheaded for his Behaviour in that Affair; whereby I ſhould not only have puniſh'd him for his own and his Father's former Rebellions, but have alſo deprived the oppoſite Faction of a Head, but the croſs Fates have decreed his Eſcape: Yet I am ſo much a Gainer by the Affair, that his forfeited Eſtate will reward ſome of my zealous Friends, and his Sentence will terrify the reſt of my Enemies, as it hath pleaſed my Church of *England*-Zealots, becauſe of his Inclination to the Scotiſh Kirk. This Behaviour of the Parliament and Church of *Scotland* will mightily ſtrengthen my Friends of the Church of *England* in their eſpouſing mine and my Brother's Cauſe, which will not a

little

little contribute to the running down of the Diſſenters, our irreconcileable Enemies in both Nations.

## CHAP. LXXVII.

*On the finding of my Lord* Grey, *Alderman* Corniſh, *and other Citizens, guilty of a Riot, for countenancing the Election of the City-Magiſtrates. The Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty and the Duke of* York *at* Ry-houſe; *and the Council of ſix to manage the Plot: Whereupon my Lord* Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, *&c. were cut off. The Earl of* Eſſex's *being murdered in the* Tower. *The Trial and Sentence of Mr.* Speke *and Mr.* Braddon, *for endeavouring a Diſcovery thereof. The Continuance of the Surrender of Charters,* &c.

THE Citizens, I perceive, continue ſtill tumultuous, and are mighty tenacious in aſſerting the Right of chuſing their Magiſtrates, though there is a *Quo Warranto* againſt their Charter. It is therefore my Intereſt to puniſh thoſe who incourage them, that for time to come they may be deterr'd from ſuch Practices; and therefore I ſhall order it ſo that my Lord *Grey*, Alderman *Corniſh*,

*nish*, and such other noted Citizens as countenance their Proceedings, shall be indited as Rioters; and I doubt not of having them found guilty accordingly: which will both reflect upon their Credit, and affect their Estates.

But all this while I play at nothing but small game; and this way of proving Plots by Consequence and Inferences is not so satisfactory to the Publick: for the Faction evades them, by alledging that all those things with which they are charg'd amount to no more than a zealous Appearance for their Liberties, to which they have a Right by Law; so that I must find out a Method to charge their Ringleaders with something of a more heinous Nature, that may appear odious in the Eyes of the World; and not only render the Persons, but the Cause also hateful: By which means I shall be justified in cutting off the Chief of the Faction, as the Lord *Russel*, *Algernon Sidney*, &c. and afford a plausible Pretext for committing the Earl of *Essex* and others. But seeing it will be look'd upon as improbable that such Persons as the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Essex*, Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden*, &c. should be concern'd in any mean or base Design against my Life, or my Brother's, by way of Assassination, I have taken order that the Plot shall consist

consist of two Parts, *viz.* one of levying War against me to overturn the Government in Church and State, whereof those great Men above-named shall be given out as the Managers; which as it will justify the Reasonableness of my having declared the Duke of *Monmouth* illegitimate, so it will be the more readily believ'd that he is engag'd in such a Design to revenge that Affront. The other part of the Plot, which shall be given out as a Design to have assassinated my self and the Duke of *York*, I have, by the Advice of some of my Confidents, laid it so as to have it charg'd upon meaner Persons, as *Walcott*, *Rumbold*, &c. And being provided with the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, and other Evidences fit for my purpose, the Matter shall be sworn boldly home. And thus shall I revenge my self on those Men who have appear'd with so much Zeal against me and my Brother, and rid our selves of such dangerous Enemies. And at the same time, to make the Belief of the Plot obtain amongst the People, I will order a Day of Thanksgiving for the Discovery, which will give the Clergy an occasion to run down the Phanatieks, and assert the Truth of their Design to overturn the Church and State, under the specious Pretext of consulting how to preserve and maintain their Religion and Liberties. By

this means I may go on to cut off their Ring-leaders ſecurely, and the Lord *Ruſſel* and *Algernon Sidney* particularly; the former for having dar'd to carry up the Bill of Excluſion to the Houſe of Lords, and becauſe he is popular, and the apparent Heir to a great Eſtate of Church-lands, which will make him vigorous in his Oppoſition to Popery; and the latter, becauſe of his being an old Rebel againſt my Father, a Perſon of Anti-monarchical Principles, and one whom the Faction admires for his Counſel and Conduct. I know what will be urg'd in their Defence, as that their innocent Diſcourſes and Meetings are aggravated; that the Evidence againſt them is infamous and defective; and that my Attorney and others are mov'd with Bribes, and the Proſpect of Preferments from the Court, to harangue them out of their Lives: but thoſe Cobweb-Objections I can eaſily break, now that the Tide runs with as much Violence againſt them as they carried it formerly againſt the Catholicks; for which I am obliged to my Biſhops and Clergy, who have eſpous'd the Buſineſs with ſo much Zeal, becauſe I have turn'd the Chaſe upon the Phanaticks. And to engage them yet further, I have ordered ſome of the Scots Presbyterian Gentry, *&c.* who lurk'd about Town, to be ſent to *Scotland*, that ſo the

Plot given out to be carried on in both Nations by the Phanaticks and Republicans, may acquire the more universal Credit.

The Death of my Lord *Russel* I perceive is a great Mortification to the Party, who are now as much dejected as they were formerly elevated in the time of the Popish Plot and seditious Parliaments. But that which pleases me most is, the bringing of the Protestant Interest in my Kingdoms so low, and splitting them to pieces by a Wedg of their own, tho I have been deserted, in a great measure, both by my Friends of *France* and *Rome*. But my Brother, I perceive, carries the thing too far; and I find it generally suspected, that all was not fair in relation to the Earl of *Essex*: yet the News of his having cut his own Throat was of singular Use to advance the Credit of the Plot, and contributed much to my Lord *Russel*'s Condemnation. And though I have no reason to bewail his Loss, because he might have prov'd a dangerous Enemy, yet the Merit of the Father makes me regret the Fate of the Son, which I could wish had been more favourable.

I perceive that it's dangerous to go on in this Method too fast; and I must not give my Brother too much way, lest I should indeed dig a Grave for my self: and therefore having gratify'd the Catholicks enough at

once, I may very well be allowed to pauſe a while, and conſider whether I may not be ſhip-wrack'd in the Tempeſt that I have raiſed, before it be too late; and therefore I think it neceſſary to recal the Duke of *Monmouth*, whoſe natural Affection will make him tender of my Preſervation. And by this means I ſhall have a Check upon my Brother, though at the ſame time I muſt not allow the Plot to be decried, but find it convenient ſtill to ſacrifice Colonel *Sidney*, and ſuffer *Speke* and *Braddon* to be proſecuted, for offering to call in queſtion the Earl of *Eſſex*'s having been *felo de ſe*. And in the mean time I will take ſurer, though ſlower Meaſures to bring about my Deſigns: For the Heads of the Faction being now cut off, and the whole Party brought under Hatches, I judg it better Policy to diveſt the Corporations of their Charters gradually, while the Church-men are in the ſurrendring Humour, than to purſue theſe ſeverer Methods with heat, leſt the People ſhould come at laſt to be enraged, and riſe in an univerſal Rebellion; for if my Brother be ſuffered to follow his own Conduct, he will quickly run himſelf and me both off the Stage.

*FINIS.*

*Here follow the Copies of two Papers written by the late King* Charles II. *Publiſhed in* 1686. *by King* James's *Authority, who atteſted that he found them in his Brother's Strong Box, written in his own Hand.*

*The Firſt Paper.*

THE Diſcourſe we had the other Day, I hope ſatisfied you in the main, that Chriſt can have but one Church here upon Earth; and I believe that it is as viſible as that the Scripture is in print, That none can be that Church, but that, which is called the *Roman Catholick Church.* I think you need not trouble your ſelf with entring into that Ocean of particular Diſputes, when the main, and, in truth, the only Queſtion is, Where that Church is, which we profeſs to believe in the two Creeds? We declare there to believe *one Catholick and Apoſtolick Church*, and it is not left to every phantaſtical Man's Head to believe as he pleaſes, but to the

Church to whom Chriſt left the Power upon Earth to govern us in Matters of Faith, who made theſe Creeds for our Directions. It were a very irrational thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of thoſe Laws; for then every Man will be his own Judg, and by conſequence no ſuch thing as either Right or Wrong. Can we therefore ſuppoſe that God Almighty would leave us at thoſe Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and to leave every Man to be his own Judg? I do ask any ingenuous Man, whither it be not the ſame thing to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any Man ſhew me, where the Power of deciding Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man. Chriſt left his Power to his Church even *to forgive Sins in Heaven*, and left his Spirit with them, which they exerciſed after his Reſurrection: Firſt by his Apoſtles in theſe Creeds, and many Years after by the Council at *Nice*, where that Creed was made that is called by that Name; and by the Power which they had receiveed from Chriſt, they were the Judges even of the Scripture it ſelf many Years after the Apoſtles, which Books were Canonical and which were not. And if they had this Power then, I deſire to know how they came

came to loſe it, and by what Authority Men ſeparate themſelves from that Church? The only Pretence I ever heard of, was, becauſe the Church has fail'd in wreſting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true Senſe and Meaning of it, and that they have impoſed Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do deſire to know who is to be Judg of that, whether the whole Church, the Succeſſion whereof has continued to this day without Interruption, or particular Men who have raiſed Schiſms for their own Advantage?

*The Second Paper.*

IT is a ſad thing to conſider what a world of Hereſies are crept into this Nation: Every Man thinks himſelf as competent a Judg of the Scriptures as the very Apoſtles themſelves; and 'tis no wonder that it ſhould be ſo, ſince that part of the Nation which looks moſt like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments againſt the other Sects, for fear they ſhould be turned againſt themſelves, and confuted by their own Arguments. The Church of *England* (as 'tis call'd) would fain have it thought, that they are the Judges in Matters Spiritual, and yet dare not ſay poſitively that there is no Appeal from them; for either they muſt ſay, that they are Infallible, (which they cannot pretend to) or confeſs that what they decide in Matters of Conſcience, is no further to be followed, than it agrees with every Man's private Judgment. If Chriſt did leave a Church here upon Earth, and we were all once of that Church, how, and by what Authority, did we ſeparate from that Church? If the Power of interpreting of Scripture be in every Man's Brain, what need have we of a Church or Church-men? To what

what purpoſe then did our Saviour, after he had given his Apoſtles Power to *Bind and Looſe in Heaven and Earth*, add to it, *that he would be with them even to the end of the World?* Theſe Words were not ſpoken Parabolically, or by way of Figure. Chriſt was then aſcending into his Glory, and left his Power with his Church, even *to the End of the World.* We have had theſe hundred Years paſt, the ſad Effects of denying to the Church that Power in Matters Spiritual, without an Appeal. What Country can ſubſiſt in Peace or Quiet, where there is not a Supream Judg from whence there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Juſtice done where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law, with thoſe that are appointed to adminiſter Juſtice? This is our Caſe here in *England* in Matters Spiritual; for the Proteſtants are not of the Church of *England*, as 'tis the true Church from whence there can be no Appeal; but becauſe the Diſcipline of that Church is conformable at the preſent to their Fancies; which as ſoon as it ſhall contradict or vary from, they are ready to imbrace or join with the next Congregation of People, whoſe Diſcipline and Worſhip agrees with their Opinion at that time: ſo that according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but

that

that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain. I desire to know therefore of every serious Considerer of these things, whether the great Work of our Salvation ought to depend upon such a Sandy Foundation as this? Did Christ ever say to the Civil Magistrate (much less to the People) *that he would be with them to the End of the World?* Or, did he give them the Power *to forgive Sins?* St. *Paul* tells the Corinthians, *Ye are God's Husbandry, ye are God's Building; we are Labourers with God.* This shews who are the *Labourers*, and who are the *Husbandry* and *Building*: And in this whole Chapter, and in the preceeding one, St. *Paul* takes great pains to set forth that they, the Clergy, *have the Spirit of God, without which no Man searcheth the deep things of God*; and he concludeth the Chapter with this Verse, *For who hath known the Mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? But we have the Mind of Christ.* Now if we do but consider in humane Probability and Reason, the Powers Christ leaves to his Church in the Gospel, and St. *Paul* explains so distinctly afterwards, we cannot think that our Saviour said all these things to no purpose: And pray consider on the other side, that those who resist the Truth, and will not submit to his Church, draw their Arguments from Implications, and far-fetch'd

Inter-

Interpretations, at the same time that they deny plain and positive Words; which is so great a Disingenuity, that 'tis not almost to be thought that they can believe themselves. Is there any other Foundation of the Protestant Church, but that if the Civil Magistrate please, he may call such of the Clergy as he thinks fit for his turn at that time; and turn the Church either to *Presbytery*, *Independency*, or indeed what he pleases? This was the way of our pretended Reformation here in *England*; and by the same Rule and Authority it may be altered into as many more Shapes and Forms as there are Fancies in Mens Heads.

*A Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy Death of our late Soveraign Lord King* Charles II. *in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then Aſſiſtant,* Mr. Jo. Hudleſton.

UPON Thurſday the Fifth of *February*, 1685. between ſeven and eight a Clock in the Evening, I was ſent for in haſte to the Queen's Back-ſtairs at *Whitehall*, and deſired to bring with me all things neceſſary for a dying Perſon. Accordingly I came, and was order'd not to ſtir from thence till farther notice; being thus obliged to wait, and not having had time to bring along with me the moſt Holy Sacrament of the Altar, I was in ſome Anxiety how to procure it: In this conjuncture (the Divine Providence ſo diſpoſing) Father *Bento de Lemos* a *Portugez* came thither, and underſtanding the Circumſtance I was in, readily proffer'd himſelf to go to St. *James*'s, and bring the moſt Holy Sacrament along with him.

Soon after his Departure I was call'd into the King's Bed-chamber, where approaching to the Bed-ſide, and kneeling down, I in brief pre-

presented his Majesty with what Service I could perform for God's Honour, and the Happiness of his Soul at this last Moment, on which Eternity depends. The King then declared himself, That he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholick Church; That he was most heartily sorry for all the Sins of his Life past, and particularly for that he had deferred his Reconciliation so long; That through the Merits of Christ's Passion he hoped for Salvation; That he was in Charity with all the World; That with all his Heart he pardon'd his Enemies, and desired Pardon of all those whom he had any wise offended; and that if it pleased God to spare him longer Life, he would amend it, detesting all Sin.

I then advertis'd his Majesty of the Benefit and Necessity of the Sacrament of Penance; which Advertisement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact Confession of his whole Life, with exceeding Compunction and Tenderness of Heart: which ended, I desired him, in farther sign of Repentance and true Sorrow for his Sins, to say with me this little short Act of Contrition.

"O my Lord God! with my whole Heart "and Soul I detest all the Sins of my Life past "for the Love of Thee, whom I love above all "things; and I firmly purpose by thy Holy "Grace

" Grace never to offend Thee more, *Amen*,
" Sweet Jesus, *Amen*. Into thy Hands,
" Sweet Jesus, I commend my Soul; Mercy,
" Sweet Jesus, Mercy. This he pronounced with a clear and audible Voice; which done, and his Sacramental Penance admitted, I gave him Absolution.

After some time thus spent, I asked his Majesty, if he did not also desire to have the other Sacraments of the Holy Church administred unto him? He reply'd, By all means, I desire to be Partaker of all the Helps and Succours necessary and expedient for a Catholick Christian in my Condition. I added, And doth not your Majesty also desire to receive the precious Body and Blood of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist? His Answer was this, If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it. I then told him, it would be brought to him very speedily, and desired his Majesty, that in the Interim he would give me leave to proceed to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; he replied, With all my Heart: I then anointed him, which as soon as perform'd I was call'd to the Door, whither the Blessed Sacrament was now brought and delivered to me.

Then returning to the King, I entreated his Majesty that he would prepare and dispose him-

himself to receive. At which the King raising up himself, said, Let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better Posture than in my Bed. But I humbly begg'd his Majesty to repose himself: God Almighty, who saw his Heart, would accept of his good Intention. The King then having again recited the forementioned Act of Contrition with me, he received the most Holy Sacrament for his Viaticum, with all the Symptoms of Devotion imaginable. The Communion being ended, I read the usual Prayers, termed the Recommendation of the Soul, appointed by the Church for Catholicks in his Condition. After which the King desired the Act of Contrition, *O my Lord God, &c.* to be repeated. This done, for his last spiritual Encouragement, I said,

Your Majesty hath now received the Comfort and Benefit of all the Sacraments, that a good Christian (ready to depart out of this World) can have or desire. Now it rests only, that you think upon the Death and Passion of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, of which I present unto you this Figure (shewing him a Crucifix;) lift up therefore the Eyes of your Soul, and represent to your self your sweet Saviour here crucified, bowing down his Head to kiss you, his Arms stretched out to imbrace you, his Body and Members all bloody

bloody and pale with Death to redeem you; and as you see him dead and fixed upon the Cross for your Redemption, so have his Remembrance fixed and fresh in your Heart. Beseech him, with all Humility, that his most precious Blood may not be shed in vain for you; and that it will please him by the Merits of his bitter Death and Passion to pardon and forgive you all your Offences: And finally, to receive your Soul into his blessed Hands: and when it shall please him to take it out of this transitory World, to grant you a joyful Resurrection, and an Eternal Crown of Glory in the next. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; *Amen.*

So recommending his Majesty on my Knees, with all the Transport of Devotion I was able, to the Divine Mercy and Protection, I withdrew out of the Chamber.

In Testimony of all which I have hereunto subscribed my Name.

*JO. HUDLESTON.*

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*ERRATA.*

PAge 103. line 2. read happier. Ibid. l. 3. after *Restraint* supply thus the Brutes.